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MARTINI LUTHER
THEOLOGI OBYT 17 FEBRUA. Aº 1546.

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THE LIFE AND DEATH OF D. MARTIN LVTHER

The Passages whereof haue bin taken out of his owne and other Godly and most Learned, mens writings, who liued in his time.

1. Thess: 5: 12: 13: Wee beseech you, bretheren, to know them, Who labour among you: etc: and to esteeme them very highly for there worke sake, and be at peace among your selues: /

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UNIV. EDINBURGH

To

THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE

Sr. THOMAS ROE

Knight; Chancellour of the most Noble Order of the Garter, and one of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Councell.

TO whom rather should I addresse this present discourse, then to *your Honourable selfe*, who by your [a] *Embassie extraordinary for his Majestie of England into Germany* well observed the countrey and the present estate thereof, where many passages here mentioned were acted. And much the rather doe I humbly present it to your *Honourable Patronage*, because, upon that happie occasion, it pleased our gracious God to put then into your mind

a and

a Ann. Dom. 1628. and once since that time

and to nourish therein ever since, a serious consideration of the deplorable distractions of the *Christian Church*; as he did into good [b] *Nehemiahs* minde, of the lamentable estate of *Ierusalem* in his time. Your compassionate and tender affection was, and is still much moved to [c] observe the living stones of the *New Ierusalem* lying in the dust, or drencht in their own blood, some of her Priests, and their flocks clad in Sackcloth, others with their people by sword and fire cast out and banished: and which is worst of all, *your Honour* well discerned how difficult a task it was to cure this fearfull maladie: because disaffection of parties & dissention of opinions, unlesse God prevented the mischiefe, would not admit the binding up of the wound. Nor did these miserable calamities of Gods people only vex and grieve your pious and religious soule, but also so rouzed and summoned up *your Honours* most serious thoughts, that with [d] an hearty and godlie providence, with a sincere and prudent circumspection you presentlie

[b] Nehem. 1. & 2.

[c] *Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures, quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus*, Hor.

[d] As the good Samaritan not only pitied, but took care of the wounded man.

are consulted with other most learned, religious & Christian lovers of *Gods Church* about the *peace* thereof, so far as possiblie may be attained, and so far, as it lies in the power of *Christian Princes*, of most *judicious Divines*, and of *truly zealous people*, guided by them both: that as much as may be, we may *all be*[e] *of one minde and accord, and think, and speak one and the same thing*, as the sacred Scripture often and straightly giveth us in charge. For this end Mr. *Iohn Dury a Divine* of singular pietie & learning, truly studious of the Churches peace, and incomparably sedulous to advance the same, and first interessed in the work by your Honourable means and incouragement, hath so much prevailed with many illustrious[f] *Princes & States*, and the *most eminent learned men* in *Germany*, and the parts adjoyning, that the work is very wel promoted, and an heartie inclination wrought towards a good correspondencie for *Ecclesiasticall peace*. God grant your *Honour* life and health, that to your great comfort, and all true Christians

[e] Christians should be peaceable one with another: the devill and the world raise stirs too many to molest the Church.

[f] This by severall instruments signed by them will plainly appear.

joy, you may shortly see the work come to more maturitie and perfection.

Amidst your *Honours* graue and weightie intendments for this and other occasions of much concernement, may you please to reflect on this discourse. I conceive that there be many passages therein very considerable for these and after times: and that they will make much for the exciting of *our thankefulnesse to God*: when we behold from what beginnings, in an 100 and few moe yeares, *Gods truth* hath risen, and *Papisticall* and *Anabaptisticall* errour fallen. It is remarkable that the points by *D. Luther* mainly opposed were *Indulgences, the Popes boundlesse power*, merit of *workes, Purgatory, Communion but in one kinde*: all[g] chiefe points and palpably and and undeniably grosse. And on the other side, that he stood up against the *Anabaptists rebaptization of themselves, their not baptizing infants* (as not commanded by Christ;) *their having all things in common* (as had the Primitive Christians, *Act.* 2. 44.) and against the *Antinomians heresies* concern-

g When walled Cities and Castles are taken, Villages must yeeld. *Hor.*

concerning the law, and other like erroneous fancies. It is also observable that *Dr. Luther* striking at the *Popes* unlawfull power, never sought to exalt himselfe to honour or [h] riches. For though, as he saith, he himselfe with other learned men executed *Episcopall Authority* in visiting the Churches of *Saxony*, & reforming things amisse: yet he knowing his talent fittest for the *Chaire of Wittenberg*, never would rise higher; but wrote a book concerning *Christian Episcopacy*, and installed *Nicolas Amsdorf* Bishop of *Neoburg*, and *George Anhaltinus* Bishop of *Mersburg*.

And in regard that *Luther* studied and read, as Professor, *Philosophie* of divers kinds, was well versed in the *Fathers*, and in *Aquinas*, *Scotus*, *Occam*, & other Schoolmen, and attained to the *Greek and Hebrew* tongues: he was thereby [i] inabled *rightly, and soundly, and gravely*, and not [k] ignorantly, rashly, or humorously to judge of these studies, and of their use in *Theologie*.

It was also very commendable in him, that he disliked railing discourse without

h He left his wife and three children in want and distresse too manifest a signe thereof.

i Ἕκαστος κατὰ λῶς κρίνει, ἀγινώσκει, καὶ τούτων ὅστι ἀγαθὸς κρίτης. Arist.

k Some who know nothing dote about questions and strife of words, &c. 1 Tim. 6. 4.

solid and concluding arguments, slighted foolish and groundlesse calumnies, reproved young students forward and rash attempts without authority for the promoting of his cause, blamed the headie and disorderly tumults raised by the Boores and vulgar sort, confessed ingenuously his doubting of some points, his ignorance in others, and craved pardon, if having beene lately a Popish Monk, he should in any point erre from the truth. Seeing this was *D. Luthers* prudent and religious course, I shall never marvell at his * *Heroicall Spirit*, and *impregnable confidence* of Gods assistance, and of the successe of his attempts: and on very good ground *famous and worthy Princes* countenanced and assisted him, as a man, by his then opposites, convicted of no errour, doing much good service in the University, offering his cause to any just triall, appealing from the Pope to the Generall Counsell, and in his whole course manifesting [1] a true correspondence of his life with his doctrine. Much more I might here adde, but will not

* The cause required it. And God sweetly moderated *Luthers* vehemency with *P. Melanchthons* mild and calm temper.

[1] *Lutheri vitam apud nos nemo non probat. Erasm. Epist. lib. 5.*

not longer detaine your *Honour* from the discourse it selfe. I humbly beseech our gracious God, who inabled D. *Luther* to be an excellent instrument for *the reformation of the Christian Church*, for beating downe of errour, and setting up of Gods Truth, that he would implant in us all, quiet, temperate, and Christian affections, [m] and love of Christs Name, & still more and more perfect the setling of Truth, and building up of his Church, untill we all become living stones in the *spiritual Temple* fitted for our God. The same *God of peace* crowne your *Honourable selfe*, and all sincere promoters of Christian peace, with peace externall and internall here, and with eternall blisse hereafter. So prayeth he, who is

Your Honours *ever to be commanded*

Thomas Hayne.

m *Luther* endured not to have any one called a Lutheran. And *Erasmus* saith, *Prorsus odi ista dissidiorum nomina: Christi sumus omnes. lib. Ep. 2.*

Christian Reader:

DAvid *a man after Gods owne heart, as in other respects so especially* in not forgetting any of Gods benefits, *but frequently and sweetly descanting on them in his sacred* songs of praise, *among many other blessings, mentions Gods gracious* leading his people out of Egypt, & teaching them by the ministery of *Moses* and *Aaron. The like thankfulnesse to God should we shew in our* [a] hymns of glorie to God, *as for infinite other favours in these later times, so especially for our comming out of the spirituall* Egypt, *by the Ministery of* Dr. Mart. Luther. *The goodnesse of God to the* Israelites and Us *is much alike in both these our deliverances. For when* Egypts tyrannie *was growne to extremity, and* Romes here- [illegible] *God seasonably put to*

a These are a chiefe and excellent work of the New Testament Church. Rev. 4. Rev. 7. 11, 12. Rev. 15. 3.

his hand, and by Moses, *then bred up in* Pharaohs *Court, and by* D. Luther, *lately trained up in Monkery, shewed a like mercy to us both. However men did project to bend the excellent endowments of these worthy men to their owne purposes, God turned them to better use, and seasoning them with his grace, fitted them for the confusion of the* Old & New Egypts. *God will be* [b] plainly knowne *to have matters of great importance at his owne disposing. He of his great goodnesse directs to the right object his servants ardent zeale to do good: as in judgement he lets the malicious and envious zeale of both Egypts persist in an evill course to their overthrow. Hence it was, that as God took off S.* Paul *from his blinde and unseasonable zeale for* Moses *Law in the Pharisaicall way, and bent it to the advancing of the Gospell: So he quelled* Luthers *raging fury and intent* [c] *to vex and kill the oppossers of the Pope: & put a zealous spirit into him for the maintenance of sacred Truth, and the downfall of Popish superstition. And indeed rightly did* Erasmus *judge, that* [d] *those corrupt times called for a sharpe, and launcing*

b When the event is seene, then wee can observe, how Godshand was in the worke.

c As S. Paul did to vex and kil Christians, *Act. 9. 1. & 22. 19.*

d *Epist. B. 1. 4. pag. 453.*

launcing and ſearing Chirurgion, *to cure their long feſtered maladies. For the worſhip of God and the truth of Religion was then (as amongſt the Iſraelites in* Elias *time) much depraved and defaced, and required a magnanimous and undaunted ſpirit, like to that in* Elias, *to reforme matters extreamly out of frame.* Eraſmus *ſaw full well, how difficult a taske* D. Luther *underwent, and for his owne part and undertaking was aſſured, that if the* [e] knowledge of good Arts, of polite Learning, of the Originall tongues, of the Sacred Scripture *floriſht, that the dark fogs of Popery could not long continue undiſpel'd. And therefore he complyed with all* [f] Princes, and [g] men ſtudious of good letters whatſoever, *to make a knowing world: and would in no wiſe, though earneſtly ſet upon both by loving intreaties and kinde uſage, as alſo by bitter calumnies, and harſh railings of the Pontificians, doe any thing of ſpeciall moment againſt* Luther. *He was confident, that, if* Luther, *being violently oppoſed and maliced, ſhould faile, yet the Truth of Chriſt, by the light of all good literature and Gods bleſſing,*

e He foreſaw, that by theſe *Novum ſeculum brevi exoriturum. lib. Epiſt. 3.*

f Even with *George* Duke of Sax. whom *Luther* found moſt oppoſite to the Goſpell. *Eraſ. epiſt. B. 12 pag. 430.*

g Hee praiſed ſome for learning, that they might ſtrive to be praiſe-worthy for it. *Epiſt. pag. 351.*

would, maugre all the Papists malice, get the upper hand, and spread it selfe.

h Ier.1.18. *But God was abundantly gracious to* D. Luther, *and made him, as* Ieremy, [h] a defenced citie, an iron pillar, and a wall of brasse, *against which his Antagonists could in no wise prevaile. Had a spirit of* pride or contention, or any by-respect *set* Luther *on work against the Pope, or had he stood upon* questions litigious, *or of* an indifferent nature, *he could never have begun with that courage, gone forward with that confidence, come off with that honour, which he did. The* blessing of God *and a* good conscience *bore him out, to take such incredible paines in reading, preaching, translating, commenting, disputing, writing, advising the Politicall State, directing the Ecclesiasticall, restraining the Papists fury from open war, counselling some Protestants from too hastie proceedings, preventing tumultuous designes, avoiding secret traps set for him, and in daily praying to God for the prosperity of the Gospell.*

All true Christians *will heartily blesse God for him, and his resolute and happy be-*

ginning

ginning of Reformation: if Papiſts *who notoriouſly defamed and ſlandered him in his life time, perſiſt ſtill to calumniate him after his death,* * *God in the laſt day will be judge betweene them.* Luther *was (and who is not?) ſubject to ſuch weakneſſes, as humanity makes incident to the beſt men. He knew his ſlips, he acknowledged them, he craved pardon for them. Yea, he conſidering, that he was a man, and might erre, intruſted his learned and faithfull friend* [i] Melanchthon *to reviſe and moderate ſome of his Tenents after his deceaſe.*

* Men may judge ſomething now by the good effe & of his labours.

In briefe Luthers faith *was admirably ſtrong in his God, his* labours and ſtudies *of ſingular benefit to Gods Church,* his books and writings *very many and learned, his* life *moſt pious, and therefore his* death *full of comfort and bleſſed.*

[i] Theſe two by conjoyning their ſtudies ſetled truth: whereas in the Councel of Trent, though ſome Divines ſaw the Truth yet the major part confirmed errour.

Accept (good Reader) *this Treatiſe now preſented unto you in* an *Engliſh* dreſſe, *out of the learned and laborious work of* Melchior Adamus: *and expect the* Lives *of other moſt* godly and reverend Fathers in Gods Church, and worthy Champions, *againſt the*

the enemies of Gods truth, both *English* and forraine. *Some whereof were never extant before, others', but sparingly in English set forth; all of them worthy of everlasting memory for their promoting of Gods glory, and their love to Christian Truth. These will shortly appeare from the Pens of sundry reverend, religious, and faithfull* Divines *amongst us. God make all these labours usefull to Gods people, and us all thankfull for his Divine and gracious goodnesse to these last and worst times.*

Yours in all Christian offices

Tho. Hayne.

To the pretious Memory of Dr. *Mart. Luther.*

WEl ſure thoſe gentle Quils (*whoſe ere they be*)
Whoſe meritorious labours ſhall ſet free
The Urne impriſoned Duſt *of that renown'd*
Thrice famous Luther: *Let his head be crown'd*
With ſacred Immortality, *and rais'd*
Much rather to be wondred at then prais'd.
Let Babes *unborne, like fruitfull plants bring forth*
To after dayes new Monuments *of his worth,*
And time-outlaſting Name: *that* Babels Whore
And all her bald-pate panders may ev'n more
For very anguiſh, and then gnaw and bite
Their tongues for malice, and their nailes for ſpite,
Whilſt men made perfect in his well knowne ſtory
May all turne Patrons, *and protect his* Glory.

Francis Quarles.

When blackeſt clouds of Romiſh errours baſe,
Had quite ore-ſpred Truths amiable face,
And Antichriſts ore-topping tyrannie
Had chain'd all Europe to Idolatry;
Then, ſuddenly and ſtrangely God did raiſe
(To Romes deepe admiration and amaze)
Renowned Martin Luther, *dauntleſly*
To vindicate his Truth, and Rome defie.
He, maugre all their ſpight and fury fell,
Did Papall fogs of Errour cleane expell;
Clearing the Sun of Truth to ſuch pure light
As, ever ſince, hath ſhone abroad moſt bright.
Of Hercules *his Club, what talk we, then?*
Since Rome is ruin'd with great Luthers *Pen.*

I. Vicars.

THE LIFE AND DEATH of Dr. *Martin Luther.*

THE Family of the *Luthers* was ancient, and spred into divers parts of the Territories of the *Earle of Mansfield.* It consisted of the middle degree of Men. The Parents of *Martin Luther* first lived in *Isleben* a town in that Earldome: thence they went to dwell in *Mansfield*, the place, of which the Earldome took its name. There *Iohn Luther* father of *Martin* possessed Mettle Mines, bore office, and for his integritie was in good esteem among the best Citizens. *Margaret Lindeman* was the wife of *Iohn Luther*, and Mother of *Martin*; she was a woman commendable for all vertues beseeming a worthy Matron, especially for her modestie, feare of God, and calling on his

Luthers parentage.

Thence *M. Luther* went to Isenak. *Lu. Epist. Tom.* 1. *pag.* 227.

name: So that she was a pattern of vertue to many others.

The birth of *Luther*, *An.* 1483.

Martin Luther was born of *Isleben*, *Ann. Dom.* 1483. *Novem.* 10. at 9. a clock at night on S^t. *Martins* day: and was thence call'd *Martin*. His parents brought him up in the knowledge and feare of God, according to the capacitie of his tender yeeres, and taught him to read at home, and accustomed him to vertuous demeanour. The father of *George Aemilius* (as *Luther* often hath related) first put him to Schoole, where though the trueth was much darkned by clouds of Popery, yet God preserved still the heads of *Catechisme*, the *Elements of the Cisioian Grammar*, some *Psalmes* and formes of prayer.

Aemilius put him to Schoole.

An. Dom. 1496. *John Reineck* his Schoolfellow at *Magdeburg*.

At fourteene yeeres of age, he with *John Reineck*, who proved a man of especiall vertue and authoritie in those parts, were sent to *Magdeburg*. Whence a league of intire friendship ever continued between these two; either because of a Sympathy and agreement of their natures, or their education together in their first studies. At *Magdeburg* he, as many others born of honest parents, lived a poore Scholler for the space of one yeere. *Thus even the greatest matters have small beginnings, and scarce any thing is highly exalted, but from a lowly degree.*

An. 1498. he went to *Isenak*.

Thence by his parents he was removed to *Isenak*, where was a Schoole of great fame: here was a Schoolemaster, who (as *Luther* by experience found, and would professe) taught *Grammar* more dextrously and truely. One reason also of his being sent

sent thither was, because his Mother was born there of a worthy and ancient family. There he perfected his Grammar learning, and being of a very quick wit, and by nature fitted for eloquence, he soone surpassed his School-fellows in copiousnesse of speech and matter, and excelled in expression of his minde both in prose and verse.

How he perfected his Grammar learning.

Upon this his tasting the sweetnesse of learning, he was inflamed with an earnest desire to goe to some *Universitie*, the well-spring of all good literature; and surely had he met with good and commendable Tutors, he by his piercing wit had attained all good Arts: and perhaps he might by the milder studies of true Philosophy, and diligence in well framing his style somewhat have tempered the vehemencie of his nature.

Luthers love to learning.

He went to *Erford An.* 1501. Where he fell upon the crabbed and thorny *Logick* of that age: which he soone attained, as one who by the sagacitie of his wit, was better able to dive into the causes and other places of Arguments then others.

He studied at *Erford, An.* 1501.

Here, out of a desire of better learning, he read over *Cicero, Livy, Virgil*, and other monuments of ancient Latine Authors. These he perused, not as a child, to glean Phrases from them: but to discern what therein was usefull towards the right conforming of mans life. And to that end seriously observed the counsels and grave sentences in those writers: and having a faithfull and sure memory, what ever he read or heard, he had it still in readinesse for present use. Hereby he so excelled in his

His course in his reading.

youth, that the whole Universitie admired his wit.

[a] His being M. of Arts, *An.* 1503. or as others, 1505.

When at *Erphord* he was graced [a] with the degree of *Master of Arts* at twentie yeeres of his age, he read, as Professour, *Aristotles Physicks, Ethicks* and other parts of *Philosophy*. Afterward his kindred seeing it fit that so worthy indowments of wit and eloquence should be cherished for the publique good, by their advise he betooke [b] himself to the study of the *Law*. But not long after when he was 21. yeeres old, of a sudden besides the purpose of his parents and kindred (upon an affright from his faithfull mates violent death) he betook himself to the *Augustine Monks Colledge in Erphord*. But before he entred the Monastery, he entertained his fellow [d] students with a cheerfull banquet: and thereupon sent them letters valedictory, and sending to his parents the Ring and gown of his degree of Master of Arts, unfolded to them the reason of the change of his course of life. It much grieved his parents that so excellent parts should be spent in a life little differing from death. But for a moneths space no man could be admitted to speake with him.

[b] His study of the Law.

[c] He entred the Monastery, *An.* 1504.
[d] He taketh his leave of his fellow Students, *Tom.* 1. *epist.*

Nor was it povertie, but the love of a pious life, which bent his minde to the Monastical life. In which though he spent his time in the usual schoole learning, and read the Writers upon the Sentences, and in publique disputations clearly opened their inextricable labyrinths to the admiration of many: yet because in this kinde of life he sought not to ennoble

ennoble his fame, but to further his ſtudy of a pious life; he looked into thoſe ſtudies but upon the by, and with much eaſe attained their Scholaſtical methods.

When on a time in the Library of the Colledge, running over the books thereof in order, he met with a copie of the *Latine Bible*, which he never ſaw before; There with admiration he obſerved that there were moe *Evangelical and Apoſtolical texts* then what were read to the people in Churches. In the *old Teſtament* with great attention he read the ſtory of *Samuel* and *Anna* his mother: and began to wiſh, that he was the owner of the like book; which not long after he obtained. Hereupon he ſpent his time on the Propheticall and Apoſtolicall writings, the fountaines of all heavenly doctrine, ſeeking thence to enforme his minde with Gods will, and to nouriſh in himſelf the feare of God, and true faith in Chriſt from true and undoubted grounds. Some ſickneſſe and feare whet him on to attempt theſe ſtudies more earneſtly.

Luther meets with a Latine Bible.

It is ſaid, that in this Colledge *Luther* in his younger yeers fell into a moſt violent diſeaſe, in ſo much that there was no hope of life: and that an ancient Prieſt came to him, and with theſe words comforted him. *Sir, Be of good courage, for your diſeaſe is not mortall: God will raiſe you up to be a man who ſhall afford comfort to many others.* At the firſt, the Monks handled him ſomewhat harſhly, whileſt he performed the office of the *Cuſtos*, and was compelled to cleanſe the uncleane places: as alſo to walk up

Luther fell into a grievous ſickneſſe, *An.* 1501.

A Prieſt comforted him.

The Monks uſed him hardly.

and down the Citie with a bagge or wallet. But upon the request of the Universitie, of which he had been a member, he was eased of that burden.

He was often cheered up by conference with the ancient Priest; to whom he revealed his feares and scruples of minde, and heard him discoursing of faith at large, and going on in the Creed to the Article, *I beleeve the Remission of sins.* Which he thus explained. Namely, that a man must not onely in generall beleeve that sinnes are remitted to some men, as to *David*, and to *Ester*, for this the devils beleeve: but that God commands, that we should each man in particular beleeve, that our sinnes be forgiven us in Christ Jesus. This exposition, said he, is confirmed by S^t. *Bernard*: and shewed him the place in his Sermon upon the Annuntiation: where these words are to be found. *But adde this, and beleeve this also, that thy sins are forgiven thee for Christs sake. This is the Testimony in thy heart, which the Spirit of God giveth, saying, Thy sins are forgiven thee. For the Apostle thus determines of the matter; That a man is freely justified by faith.* Luther said, that he was not onely confirmed in the truth, but also put in minde of Saint *Paul* ever in these words, asserting this trueth: *We are justified by faith.* Concerning this point, after that he had read the expositions of divers men, he further said, that from the speeches of *Paul*, he observed to accrew unto himself much comfort, and great light to discerne the vanitie of other interpretations, which then were used.

The Article of remission of sinnes explained.

Bernard. Sermon on the Annunt.

Then

Then he began to read St *Auguſtines workes*: where both in his Comment on the *Pſalmes*, and in the booke, *Of the Spirit and letter*, he found many evident places, which confirmed this doctrine concerning faith c, and the comfort, which was before kindled in his breaſt. Yet did he not utterly caſt of the reading of *Gabriel* and *Camaracenſis*, writers on the Sentences, but was able to recite them by heart in a manner. He ſpent much time in often reading *Occam*, and eſteemed him for acuteneſſe of wit before *Thomas Aquinas* and *Scotus*: alſo he ſtudiouſly peruſed *Gerſon*. But chiefly he read often *Auſtins* workes, and kept them well in memory. This earneſt proſecution of his ſtudies he began at *Erphord*: and ſpent there five yeers in the Colledge.

He read St *Auguſtine*.

And writers on the ſentences.

In the yeare 1507. he put on the prieſts hood. The firſt Maſſe which he celebrated, was May 2. *Domini Cantate*. Then was he 24. yeares old. In this courſe he continned 15. yeares, to the yeare of our Lord 1527. At that time *Io. Staupicius*, who endeavored to promote the univerſity of *Wittenberg* lately begun, deſired that the ſtudy of Theologie ſhould there flouriſh, and well knew the wit and learning of *Luther*: and removed him to *Wittenberg*, An. 1508. when he was 26. yeares old. Here in regard of his daily exerciſes in the ſchooles and his ſermons, the eminency of his good parts did more and more ſhew themſelves. And among other learned men, who attentively heard him *Martinus Mellurſtad*, commonly cal'd *Lux mundi*, the light of the world, often ſaid of *Luther*: *that there*

He began to ſay Maſſe An. 1507. B. 1. Epiſt. 1.

He was removed to *Wittenberg* An. 1508.

Mellurſtads Judgement of *Luther*.

there was in him so noble a straine of wit, that he did verily presage, that he would change the vulgar course of studies, which at that time was usuall in schooles, and prevailed.

He was professor of Philosophy at *Wittenberg* and inveyes against *Arist.* Tom. 1. Epist. 10.

At *Wittenberg* *Luther* first explained *Aristotles Logick* and *Physickes*: yet intermitted not his study of *Divinitie*. Three yeares after, that is *An.* 1510. he was sent into Italy and to Rome in the behalfe of his Covent, for the deciding of some controversies among the Monkes. There he saw the Pope, and the Popes palace, and the manners of the Roman Clergie. Concerning which he sayth: *I was not long at Rome: There I sayd, and heard others say Masse: but in that manner, that so often as I call them to minde, I detest them. For at the Table I heard among other matters some Curtisans laugh and boast, and some concerning the bread and wine on the Altar to say: Bread thou art, and bread thou shalt remaine; Wine thou art, and wine thou shalt remaine.* He further addeth, that the priests celebrated the Masses so hastily and perfunctorily, that he left of saying Masse, before he betooke himselfe to the Gospell. And cried out, *Away with it, away with it.* In talke with his familiar friends he would often rejoyce at this his journey to Rome, and say; that *he would not for* 1000. *florens have been without it.* After his returne from Rome, *Staupicius* so advising, he was made *Doctor in Divinity*, after the manner of the schooles, and at the Charge of Duke *Frederike* Elector of Saxony. For the Prince heard him preach, and admired the soundnesse of his invention, the strength of his arguments,

He went to *Rome* An. 1510.

What manner of Masses at *Rome*. Tom. 6. Ien. Germ. pag. 88.

He was made Doctor of Divinitie, A. 1512.

guments, and the excellence of the things, which he delivered. Now was *Luther* 30. yeares old, and had attained a maturity of Judgement. *Luther* himſelfe uſed to profeſſe, that he would have refuſed this honour, and that *Staupicius* would have him permit himſelfe to be graced with this degree, ſaying pleaſantly: *That there were many buſineſſes in Gods Church, wherein he would uſe Luthers helpe.* This ſpeech then ſpoken in a complementall way, at length proved true by the event. *Thus many preſages goe before great changes.* Soone after he began (as the place required) to explaine the *Epiſtle to the Romans and ſome Pſalmes:* which he ſo cleared, that after a long and darke night, there ſeemed a new day to ariſe in the judgement of all pious and prudent men. Here he ſhewed *the difference of the Law and Goſpell*, and refuted an errour then moſt frequent both in the ſchooles and ſermons: namely *that men by their workes can deſerve remiſſion of their ſinnes: and that men are juſt before God by obſerving the diſcipline commanded:* as the Phariſees taught. *Luther* therefore recal'd mens mindes to the *ſonne of God*, & (as *Iohn Baptiſt*) ſhewed them *the Lamb of God, who taketh away the ſinnes of the world.* And taught them, that for Chriſts ſake their ſinnes are forgiven, and that this benefit is received by faith. He cleared alſo other poyntes of Eccleſiaſticall truth. This beginning made him of great authority, and that much the more, becauſe his demeanor was ſutable to his doctrine, ſo that his ſpeech ſeemed to come from his heart, not from his lippes onely.

Staupicius would have him Doctour and why.

Luther expoundeth the *Epiſtle* to the *Romans*.

He recal'd men to Chriſt

His manners and doctrine agreed.

For the saying is as true, as old, Κυριώτατον ἔχει πίστιν τὸ ἦθος, *A mans pious carriage makes his speech perswasive.* Hence it was, that men easily assented to him, when afterward he changed some of their rites. As yet, he attempted not to doe it, but was a rigid observer of good order, and added something more strict then usuall. With the sweetnesse of this doctrine all godly minded men were inamoured, and much it affected the learned, that *Christ, the Prophets and Apostles* were brought out of darknes & prison, & that the difference of the Law and the Gospell, of Gods Word & Philosophy, (of which they read nothing in *Thomas, Scotus* and their *fellowes*) now * was manifested. At this time also young students were invited to a more exact study of the Latine & Greek tongue, whereupon many worthy and ingenious men were much affected with the sweetnesse of polite learning, and abhorred the barbarous and sophistical style of the Monkes. And now also *Luther* betook himselfe to the study of the *Greeke and Hebrew tongues*, that upon his knowledge of the phrase and proprietie of the originall, he might more exactly judge of doctrines grounded therepon.

The Prophets and Apostles cleared.

Erasmus writings.

Luther studieth Greeke & Hebrew.

Luther being thus busied, into *Misnia* and *Saxonie*, *Iohn Tecelius* a *Dominican* frier brought indulgences to be sold. This *Tecelius* was adjudged to death by *Maximilian* the *Emperour*, and commanded to be throwne into the river *Oenoponte*, but was pardoned at the request of *Frederike* Duke of *Saxony*, who as it befell was in those coastes at his condemnation. This *Tecelius* averred (as other matters, so especially)

An. 1516. *Jo.* Tecelius sold Indulgences.

especially) *that he had so large a commission from the Pope, that though a man should have defloured the Blessed Virgin, for money he could pardon the sinne.* And further he did not onely give pardons for sins past, but for sins to come. And not long after an Edict was set forth with *Albertus* the *Archbishops* arms, which enjoyned the officers in especiall manner to commend the validitie of the indulgences. The Pardoners also at certain rates gave license on dayes prohibited to eate milke, cheese, egges, flesh.

Luthers Godly zeale being inflamed with these proceedings, set forth certaine propositions concerning Indulgences. These he publikely affixed at the Church next to the Castle of *Wittenberg*, on All Saints *Eve*, *An.* 1517.

Luthers propositions about Indulgences.

Hereupon *Tecelius* persisting in his old course, and hoping thereby the more to oblige the Pope to himself, calleth a Senate of Monks and Divines of his own stamp: and sets them on work to write something against *Luther*. In the meane time he himself might not be silent: Nor would he onely preach against *Luther*, but with open mouth cryeth and thunders, that *Luther was deservedly to be burnt as an Heretick: and withall publikely cast Luthers propositions and his Sermon concerning Indulgences into the fire.*

The day of Indulgences confusion. *Tom. 2. epist. pag. 345.*

Tecelius his opposing *Luther*.

These violent courses of *Tecelius* and his complices, necessarily put *Luther* upon a more copious declaration and defence of the Trueth. Thus began these Controversies, in which *Luther* aymed

Luthers temper in this cause.

not at, nor ſo much as thought of the change, which followed: nor indeed did altogether diſallow of the Indulgences, but deſired a moderation in their uſe. Yea, it appeared that *Luther* would have been quiet, ſo that his adverſaries had been injoyned ſilence. But when he ſaw, that whatſoever the Popes crafty mony-gatherers inſinuated to *Albertus Archbiſhop* of *Mentz*, was defended and beleeved by the common ſort, and yet knew not that *Tecelius* was hired by *Albertus* to make thoſe Sermons for the purchaſing of his Biſhops roab: He the day before the Calends of *Novemb. An.* 1517. complained to the Archbiſhop by writing, concerning their impious clamours, and intreated that he by the authoritie of his place would call in their libels, and preſcribe to the *Preachers ſome other forme of preaching their pardons:* ſo *Luther* himſelf ſaith. At the ſame time *Luther* ſent him Propoſitions concerning Repentance and Indulgences: which he then firſt ſet forth. Theſe are extant *Tom.* 1. of *Luthers* works. The *Archbiſhop* returned no anſwer to *Luthers* epiſtle. *Tecelius* oppoſed contrary Poſitions made by *Conrade Wimpin* and others, at *Franckfort* on *Viadrus*; and compared the Pope with *Peter*, and the croſſe erected by the Pope with Chriſts croſſe: At *Hal* in Saxony the Students of *Wittenberg* publikely burnt in the market place *Tecelius* his *Theſes*: of this *Luther* thus writeth to *Ioh. Longus*. That you may underſtand aforehand, what was done about the burning of *Tecelius* Propoſitions, leſt fame (as often it comes to paſſe) ſhould miſreport the matter.

Tom. 1. *epiſt. p.* 37. 6. *Luther* writes to the Archbiſhop, who anſwered him not.

Tecelius his *Theſes* burnt by the Students of *Wittenb.*

Tom. 1. *epiſt. p.* 14.

The Students being extreamly weary of the old dunſtical courſe of ſtudies, and moſt deſirous of the ſacred Bible, and it may be out of their love to me, when they knew that one was ſent by Tetzel Hal, *and was come with his Poſitions, went preſently unto him, and terrified him, asking him how he durſt bring ſuch ſtuffe thither. Some bought of him, ſome took the reſt from him, and (giving intimation that whoſoever would ſee* Tecelius *Poſitions burnt, ſhould come to the market place at two a clock) burnt 800 of them. All this was unknown to the Prince, the Senate and Rector, and all of us. This great injury done the man by our Students diſpleaſeth my ſelf and the reſt. And though I am blameleſſe, yet I feare that the whole proceeding will be laid to my charge. A great bruite was raiſed hereupon, but eſpecially amongſt them, with a juſt indignation. What will be the iſſue hereof, I cannot ſay: ſure it is, that my danger will be much the more.*

Luthers excuſe.

When *Luther* perceived that the Poſitions were very well liked of, and entertained as ſound and orthodox; which he at firſt propounded to be diſcuſſed by diſputation, till the Church defined, what was to be thought concerning Indulgences; he wrote to *Ierom Biſhop* of *Brandenburg*, under whoſe Juriſdiction he was, and ſubmitted what he had written to the Biſhops judgement; and intreated him that he would daſh out with his pen, or conſume with the fire, what he thought unſound. The Biſhop anſwered *Luther*, and declared *that his deſire was, that the ſetting forth of his arguments about thoſe matters ſhould a little while be deferred: and that he wiſhed that*

Tom. 1. 99. *Lat.*

Luther writeth to the Biſhop of *Brandenb. Tom.* 1. *p.* 63. *Ep.* & 40. *p.*

the common talk about Indulgences had never been. Luther answered: *I am content so to do: and had rather obey, then work miracles, if I could well do them.* He wrote also to *Joh. Staupicius* the Vicar of the *Augustinian* partie: and giveth him an account of his proceedings, and sendeth to him the Answers of the disputations concerning the validitie of Indulgences to be imparted to Pope *Leo* the tenth. In these he shewed the Pope how inconsiderately and sordidly the disposers of his Indulgences had abused his authoritie. He also annexed thereunto the Protestation, which is extant in the 1. *Tom.* of his works.

He wrote to *Staupicius.*

He wrote to the Pope. T. 1. *Epist.*

Now also *Iohn Eckius* opposed *Luthers* conclusions, with Obiliscs or markes of disgrace. To them *Luther* opposed his Asteriscs or notes of approbation. After this *Silvester Prierias* a Dominican, and M^r of (as they call it) the sacred Palace, very confidently enters into the quarrell with a Dialogue and preface to *Leo* the Pope. In this writing *Prierias* set downe certaine Theses for the ground of his judgement. *Luther* answered him and opposed the sacred scripture to the authority of *Thomas Aquinas*, whom *Prierias* cited. Upon this a reply was made against *Luther*: in it *Prierias* sayd that he *liked it well, that Luther did submit himselfe to the pleasure of the Pope; was not ambitious, and did defend Thomas, as the Angelical Doctour.* Luther answered this with an Epistle onely to the Reader: & together with other matters, sayth: *If the Pope and Cardinals be of the same opinion, if as Rome the same doctrine be taught, there is*

Eckius opposeth *Luther. Prierias* writeth against *Luther. Tom.* 1. *Witt.* p. 107. *Luthers* answ.

no

no doubt, but that Rome is the very ſeat of Antichriſt: and that Greece, and Bohemia, and all others are happie, that they made a departure from the Pope: and that new commendations of the Pope were dayly invented to prevent the calling of a lawfull Councel.

Luthers concluſion concerning *Rome*.

Afterward Io. *Hogoſtratus* a Dominican writeth bitterly againſt *Luther* & exciteth the Pope to uſe the rounder courſe of fire and faggot. *Luther* anſwered him in brieſe, and told him of his cruell bent: and wittily taxed the ignorance of the man: and admoniſheth him not to proceed to ſeeke *laureolam in muſtaceo*, the laurel garland in ſo mean a perfection.

Hogoſtratus controverſie with *Luther*.

In the yeere 1518. *Luther*, though moſt men diſſwaded him, yet to ſhew his obſervance of authority, went (for the moſt part on foot) to the colledge of *Hidelberg*. At *Herbipolis* the Biſhop entertained him courteouſly. So alſo did *Wolfgang* the *Count Palatine* at *Hidelberg*. In the Colledge of the *Auguſtinians* now cal'd the Colledge of *Sapience*, he diſputed about Juſtification by faith. *Bucer* was there preſent, and by his quickneſſe in writing tooke what *Luther* ſpake, and imparted all to *Beat. Rhenanus*, who gave *Luther* much deſerved commendations. Of this diſputation *Luther* thus ſpeaketh. *The Doctours admitted my diſputing with them willingly, and argued the matter with me with much modeſty, that in that very regard, I hold them worth much commendations. For though they thought that Divinity ſtrong, yet they all argued ſeriouſly and ſtrongly againſt it, except one alone, who was the fifth of them a Junior Doctour: He made all the Auditory to laugh by ſaying, if the Ruſtick*

Luther goeth to *Hidelberg* 1518.

* 6 Cal. of *May*. See the Theſes. *Tom.* 1. *pag.* 141. *Bucer* preſent.

Luthers ſpeech of that diſputation.

Rustick rout should heare this, they would stone and kill us.

Upon *Luthers* returne he wrote an Epistle to * *Iudocus* a Divine and Philosopher of *Isenac*, once his Tutour. Where he hath this speech. *All the Doctours of Wittenberge (in the doctrine concerning grace and good workes) are of my Iudgement, yea the whole Vniversity except one licentiat Doctour Sebastian: even the Prince himselfe and our Ordinary Bishop, and many of the Chieftaines, and all the ingenious Citizens with joynt consent affirme, that before they neither knew, nor heard of the Gospel, nor of Christ.*

* *Tom.* 1. *epist. pag.* 60.

Luthers judgement approved.

After that he put forth in print the *resolutions and declarations of his propositions about* Indulgences, wch he dedicated to *Pope* Leo the 3. as was before laid. The causes of his printing them were, as he laid: *to mitigate his adversaries, to satisfie some mens request, and not to suffer some to conceive, that the whole businesse was determined. For he confessed that of many things he yet doubted, of some things he was ignorant, and did pertinaciously affirme nothing; but did humbly submit all to the Popes determination.* Hereupon *Maximilian* the Emperour being solicitous of the event of disputations of this nature, moved the Pope to interpose his own authoritie. The Pope by *Tho. Cajetan Cardinal* cited *Luther* to *Rome*. This he also desired of *Frederick Elector* of *Saxony*. *Luther* having notice hereof, mainly indeavoured, that the cause might be handled in *Germany* under competent Judges: and at length he prevailed, by the mediation of *Wittenberg* * Vniversity to the Pope, and by *Charles*

The declaration of *Luthers* Propos. *Tom.* 1. *Lat. An.* 1518.

Luther cited to *Rome*. *Tom.* 1. *Lat. Wit. pag.* 203.

* *Tom.* 1. *pag.* 106.

Multitius

Multitius a *German* the Popes Chamberlain, and the mediation of the *Elector* of *Saxony* to *Cajetan* then the Popes Legate, that at *Auſpurg* before the Legate himſelf *Luther* might plead his own cauſe.

About the beginning of *October*, *Luther* came on foot to *Auſpurg*, in his hood borrowed of *Wenceſlaus Linkius*, and much wearied with the journey: and upon aſſurance of his ſafetie was admitted to the Cardinals preſence. Who admoniſhed him, firſt, *To become a ſound member of the Church, and to recant the errours, which he had divulged: ſecondly, to promiſe that he would not again teach his former doctrines: thirdly, that he would abſtain from other doctrines, which would diſturb the peace of the Church. Here alſo it was objected to him, that he denyed the Merit of Chriſt to be a treaſure of Indulgences: and that he taught that faith was neceſſary for all which ſhould come to the Sacrament.* *Cajetan* proved his own opinion by the decree of *Clement* the ſixth, and at large extolled the authoritie of the *See of Rome*, as being falſly preferred before *all Scriptures and Councels*. After much debating the matters, *Luther* intreated ſome time to deliberate thereon: and returned the next day, and in the preſence of ſome witneſſes and a Scribe, and foure of the Emperours Counſellors, profeſſed, that *he gave the Church of Rome all due obſervance, and if he had ſpoken any thing diſſenting from the judgement of the Church, he would reverſe it: but could revoke no errour, being not yet convicted by Scripture of any; and did appeale to the judgement of the Church.* Hereupon the Legate, ſharply chiding

On Saint *Marks* day. *Tom. 1. epiſt. p.* 83.

What was required of him.

Cajetan defended the Pope.

Luthers anſwer to the Cardinal.

Luther, dismissed him, and dealt with *Staupicius* to bring *Luther* to revoke, what he had taught. But *Luther* not convinced as yet by Scripture, persisted in the trueth. Yet at length fearing least the Cardinal should make more use of his power and greatnesse, then Scholarlike disputations, he appealed to *Rome*, and departed from *Ausburg*, *Octob.* 20. Because the Cardinal charged him not to come into his presence, unlesse he would recant. Yet *Luther* left behind him an epistle to the Cardinal, and affixed thereunto a formal appeale unto the Pope.

Tom. 1. *epist. p.* 96. *b. &* 99. *b.*

Cajetan took *Luthers* departure in ill part, and wrote to the *Duke* of *Saxony*, *that he would either send Luther to Rome, or banish him out of his territories, and intreateth him not to give credit to* Luthers *defenders, and to take heed of staining the illustrious Family, whence he was descended.* The *Elector* returned answer: *That now it was not in his power to do this, because* Luther *was not convicted of any errour, and did much good service in the Universitie, and did offer his cause to triall and disputation.* The resolution of the *Duke* was more confirmed by an Epistle of *Erasmus*, and the intercession and vote of the *Universitie* of *Wittenberg*. Here I may not passe over a notable proofe of *Luthers* Heroike courage. When *Luther* came to *Ausburg*, he by the counsell of such as the Prince Elector sent with him, waited three dayes for to have the *Emperours* Letters for his safetie. In the mean time the *Cardinal* sent one for *Luther*: but he denyed to come, untill the Emperour granted what he desired. At this the messenger was

Cajetans Letter to the *Duke* of *Saxony*.

The *Dukes* answer.

was offended and ſaid: *Do you think that Prince Frederick will take up armes in your behalfe? I deſire it not*, ſaid *Luther*, *in any wiſe*. Then the Partie; *Where then will you abide?* *Luther* anſwered: *Vnder the cope of Heaven*. The *Italian* replyed: *Had you the Pope and the Cardinals in your power, what would you do? I would*, ſaid *Luther*, *give them all due honour and reverence*. At this the Meſſenger after the *Italian* manner biting his thumbs, went away.

Luthers conference with the Cardinals meſſenger.

Upon theſe dealings *Luthers* ſpirit fainted not, yet leaſt he ſhould cauſe detriment or danger to any one, or derive ſuſpicion on his Prince, and that he might more freely deale with the Papall crue, would have gone into *France* or ſome other countrey. But his friends on the contrary, counſelled him *to ſtick firmely to Saxony*: and that the Popes Legate ſhould be certified, *that Luther was ready in any ſafe place appointed him to make his anſwer*. But *Luther* having ſetled his reſolution to depart, tooke his leave of the Prince Elector, and by a letter ſent to him, *Novemb.* 29. thanked his Highneſſe for all friendly offices of his love. The Prince ſent that letter to the Legate: and appointed *Luther* to abide at *Wittenberg*. Of this *Luther* thus wrote: *The Prince was fully minded, that I ſhould ſtay: but what his minde now is, ſince the Royal proceedings are publiſhed, and I have appealed to the Counceil, I know not.*

Luther was intended to goe from *Saxony*.

Tom. 1. *epiſt. pag.* 130.

For he underſtanding by the Cardinals Letter, that Judgement ſhould paſſe on him at Rome, he made a new Appeal, ſaying, that *he was forced of neceſſitie to appeal from the Pope to the Counceil enſuing*:

Luther appealeth from the Pope to the Counceil. *An.* 1518.

which was in many respects to be preferred before the Pope.

Charles Multitius sent to bring *Luther* to Rome.

About the same time towards the end of the 18 yeere, the Pope sent *Charles Multitius* a Misnian Knight, and bestowed on Prince *Frederick* a golden *Rose*, according to custome consecrated by the Pope on the *fourth Sunday in Lent*: and exhorted him to continue in the faith of his ancestours. He was earnest with *Luther* to be reconciled to the Pope: and had seventie Briefes Apostolicall (as they call them) to shew: that if the Prince would deliver him out of his custody, for which cause the Pope sent him the *Rose*, in seventie Townes the seventie Briefes should be set up, and so he should be brought safe to Rome. But he opened the closet of his heart to *Luther* himself, when he thus spake. *O Martin, I conceived you to be an old man, and sitting in some solitary place as an ancient Divine, in some private manner to have disputed your Tenents: But now I see you to be in your best age, and full of vigour. Had I 25000. armed men I could not be confident that I could bring you to Rome: for as I came hitherward, I tried how men stood affected, and found, that where one man stood for the Pope, three stood for you against him.* What *Multitius* did in this kinde was ridiculous, for he asked of women and maids in the Innes as he came, what they thought of the Seat of Rome. They not knowing the force of this speech, answered, *What know we, whether at Rome ye sit on wooden or stone seats?* He further required of *Luther*, *that he would have a regard to the Churches peace; and promised to endeavour,*

His speech concerning *Luther*. *Pref. Tom. 1. Luther. Lat.* worke at *Wittemb.*

endeavour, that the Pope ſhould do the like: Luther freely promiſed moſt readily to doe what ever he could with a ſafe conſcience in regard of Gods Trueth: and affirmed that himſelf was deſirous and ſtudious of peace, and that it was not his fault that theſe ſtirres aroſe; for neceſsitie had urged him to do, what he had done.

Multitius alſo called unto him *Tecelius* the cheife original of theſe debates: and with ſharp wordes and threates ſo daunted the man, till now a clamorous, unaffrighted, bold face, terrible to all: ſo that ever after he languiſhed and with heartes griefe pined away. *Luther* wrote a conſolatory letter to him in this caſe: but for feare of the Popes indignation he died. *Frederik* the *Elector* a prudent and Religious Prince neither yeelded to the Popes deſire, nor vouchſafed his Roſe any reſpect: though *Multitius* wonderfully boaſted of it at *Dreſa*, & ſayd: *Doctour Martin is in my power.* About this time the *Bohemians* ſending a booke written by *Iohn Hus* to *Luther*, encouraged him *to conſtancy and patience: and confeſſed that the Divinity taught by Luther was ſound and right.*

Multitius reproveth *Tecelius*.

Tom. 1. ep. *Luth.* p. 152. and 208. *Tecelius* his death.

The *Bohemians* encourage *Luther*.

Matters being growne to this height of diſpute, and *Luther* having many adverſaries; at *Leipſick* a towne in *Miſnia* belonging to *George* Duke of *Saxony* Coſen german to Prince *Frederik*, in the 19. yeere a diſputation was held. Thither came *Andreas Caroloſtadius* accompanied with *Luther*, *Melanchthon* and *Barninus* Duke of *Pomerania*. He at that time was in office in the Univerſity of *Wittenberg*. Thither came alſo *Iohn Eckius* a Divine of *Ingolſtad*.

Caroloſtadius diſpute with *Eckius*.

Hereupon the 17. day of June, *Iohn Eckius* and *Carolostadius* began the disputation about free-will. Namely, *whether there be in man any free will to doe good as of himselfe?* that is, as they say: *whether in congruitie we deserve grace, when we doe what is in us to doe?* *Eckius* granted that *there is not in man a genuine and naturall power and ability to doe a good worke, but an acquired.* On this point eight dayes were spent by his playing the Sophister.

Luther could by no meanes obtaine leave of Duke *George* freely with his safety to dispute, and thereupon came not as a disputer, but an as Auditor to *Leipsick*, under the protection granted to *Carolostadius*. Whereupon *Eckius* comming to *Luthers* Lodging said, that he heard *that Luther refused to dispute*, Luther answered: *How can I dispute, seeing I cannot obtaine protection from George the Duke?* To this *Eckius* replied: *If I may not dispute with you, I will no longer dispute with Carolostadius. For I came hither to dispute with you. If I can obtaine for you the Dukes leave, will you dispute?* When *Luther* assented thereunto, *Eckius* presently procured for him a publique grant of safety and liberty to dispute. This *Eckius* did out of an assured confidence of victorie and renowne to himselfe, by confirming *that the Pope is the Head of the Church, Iure Divino, by Divine right*: which *Luther* denied. Hence *Eckius* tooke occasion at large to flatter the Pope and demerit his favour, and to derive much hatred and envie on *Luther*. This the bold champion stoutly attempted in the whole disputation, but was not a-

Luther invited by *Eckius* to dispute.

Whether the Pope be head of the Church *Iure Divino*.

ble to make good his cauſe, or confute *Luther*. *Eckius* chiefe arguments were: *that the Church could not be without an head, ſeeing it was a body* conſiſting of ſeverall members. Then he produced the place in *Matthew: Thou art Peter &c.* and ſome ſpeeches of St *Ierome* and *Cyprian*, and the Councel of *Conſtance*, where againſt the Articles of the *Huſſites*, it was concluded: *That it was neceſſary to ſalvation, that men ſhould beleeve that the Pope was the Oecomenicall Biſhop*, or Chriſts vicar over the whole world. Afterward they entred into diſpute *about Purgatorie, and Indulgences, (but in briefe) about repentance, about remiſſion both of ſin and its puniſhment, and about the power of prieſts.* The two laſt dayes *Carloſtadius* diſputed againe, and on the 14. day of July the diſputation ended. This diſputation was ſet forth afterward by *Luther*, who granted *that the Pope by humane right was head of the Church.* Whereupon Duke *George* inviting *Luther* and *Eckius* to dinner, and embracing both of them, ſayd: *Whether the Pope have his authority by divine or humane right, Pope he is.* *Luther* afterward changed his opinion about this point. Before this diſputation at *Leipſick*, *Luther* was deſired by *Charles Multitius* to goe to *Confluence*, there to plead his cauſe before him being the Popes Commiſſary. But *Luther* excuſed himſelfe, and ſhewed that for many reaſons, he neither could, nor ought to goe thither.

Eckius his argument.

Epiſt. Tom. 1. p. 176.

In the yeere 1520. upon *Multitius* adviſe, *Luther* wrote to the Pope, and ſent him his booke lately written *concerning Chriſtian liberty*, and offered conditions

Luther wrote to the Pope *An.* 1520.

ditions of peace. About this time *Frederik* the *Elector* fell into a grievous ſickneſſe. Whereupon *Luther* moved by ſome friends, and out of Chriſtian charity wrote the booke called *Teſſeradecas* to comfort him. Then alſo he wrote the book *Of Confeſſion of ſins:* in which he took occaſion to ſpeak of vowes, and deplored their torturing of mens conſciences. And whereas in an other Treatiſe written by him, he had ſaid: *that he judged it behoofefull, if the Counceil would ſo permit, that the Lords ſupper ſhould be adminiſtred to all in both kindes:* This ſpeech, becauſe it directly croſſed the laſt *Lateran Councel*, was excepted againſt by many: amongſt whom was *Iohn* Biſhop of *Miſnia*; who prohibited the Churchmen under his juriſdiction to adminiſter the Lords ſupper in both kindes, and enjoyned them to ſuppreſſe *Luthers* booke. *Luther* maintained his cauſe and anſwered his Edict. In the mean time the Divines of *Lovan* (conſulting with *Adrian Cardinal* of *Derthuſe* then in *Spain*) and the Divines of *Cullen* by a decree cenſure ſome of *Luthers bookes as wicked and worthy to be burnt: and held it fit that Luther ſhould recant his opinions.* When *Luther* heard of this, he anſwered every particular punctually. And becauſe he found ſo many and ſo great adverſaries, he wrote to *Charles* the fifth newly created Emperour: and intreating pardon for this his addreſſe, humbly beſought him, *that he would ſo long onely afford him protection, as that he might give account of his proceedings, and overcome, or be overcome: becauſe it would well beſeeme the Imperi-*

The Divines of *Lovan* and *Cullen* oppoſe *Luther.*

Luther writeth to *Charles* the fifth Emperour.

al

rial power not to permit the innocent to be violently handled, and trampled on by their wicked adversaries. To the same purpose he wrote to other the Dukes and Lords of the Empire, and shewed them how he began and was drawn into these attempts. Not long after he wrote to *Albertus Archbishop* of *Mentz*, Cardinal, and in submissive manner shewed *how he was condemned by two sorts of men; one who never read his books; the other, who read them, but with hearts full of hatred and prejudice.* The Bishop answered, that *he heartily desired, that all sacred matters should be handled both by* Luther *and all other Divines, (as it was meet) religiously, reverently, modestly, without tumults, envie, contumely. He said moreover, that it was a griefe to him to heare, that some great men disputed concerning the Primacie of Rome, free-will, and other sleight matters (so he call'd them) not much pertaining to a Christian indeed: and that such like rash opinions could not be broached among the ignorant people, but with incouraging them to disobedience; He wrote also about the Lords Suppers celebrating in both kinds, and about the Authoritie of Councels.* And shut up his letter with *Gamaliels* verdict. *If thy work be of God, it will stand firme and unmoveable: if it was begun of envie or pride, it will easily be blown away.* In like manner *Luther* wrote to *Adolphus Bishop* of *Mersberg*, who answered him to the same purpose, and admonished him, that he would over-rule his pen with the love of Christ the Author of our peace.

Luther writeth to the Archbishop of Mentz.

The Archbishops answer.

Tom. 2. Lat. Witt. pag. 48.

1520. The Duke of *Saxon* maliced for *Luther*.

At the same time it befell, that *Frederik Duke* of *Saxony* had some occasion to send to *Rome*, and gave

gave the buſineſſe in charge to *Valentine a Dithleben* a *German*. He brought word back, *that the Elector was in diſgrace at Rome for* Luthers *ſake:* becauſe he permitted his new opinions to be diſperſed. The Prince hereupon thus wrote in his own defence, and anſwered, *That he never defended the doctrine and books of* Luther, *nor was of that bent: and though he did heare, that many learned men approved* Luthers *judgement; yet he opened not his minde therein. Further he ſaid, that* Luther *was ready to give an account of his doctrine before the Popes Legate, ſo that he might be aſſured of ſafe conduct: and that if his error was detected, he would change his opinion: and that* Luther *of his own accord would have departed out of thoſe coaſts, had not* Multitius *perſwaded to detaine him there, rather then to permit him to ſettle elſewhere; that ſo he might more freely and ſafely attempt ſome higher deſigne. And therefore that there was no cauſe, why any one ſhould have an ill opinion of him.*

His excuſe. *Tom. 2. Lat. Wittemb. p. 50.*

To this Letter the Pope returned anſwer, and ſending a Copie of the Bull, which *Eckius* had obtained, deſired, *that the Elector would make* Luther *to recant, or if he refuſed ſo to do, he would impriſon him, and keep him ſafe, till he further declared his pleaſure.* At this the Court of *Saxony* was ſomewhat * troubled; and *Luther* began to think of ſome retired place, where he might conceale himſelf. Some Noble *Germans* approvers of *Luthers* judgement, hearing this, offered *Luther* entertainment and protection, as namely, *Francis a Sickengen, Hulderike Hutten, Sylveſter de Schavenburgen.* Of whom the ſaid *Sylveſter* wrote

Tom. 2. Lat. Wittemb. pag. 51. &c. The Popes Bull.

* *Tom. 1. epiſt. pag. 249.* *Luther* thought of a place to retire himſelf in.

wrote to *Luther*, and intreated him, not to depart into *Bohemia*, or into any other countrey, but to come to him, during the time of the Popes exasperation and menaces, and promised that an 100. *French* Horse should attend his safetie. Hereupon *Luther* taking courage admonisheth *Spalatenus*, that this course should by the Letter of *Duke Frederik*, be made known to the Cardinal of S^t. *George*. These are *Luthers* words. *I send you the Letter of* Sylvester Schavenb. *the French Knight, and were it not displeasing to you, I desire that by the letter of the Prince, notice may be given to the Cardinal of* S^t. George, *whereby they may know, that should they with their threats and curses expell me from* Witten, *they should effect nothing else, but to make a bad matter much worse. For now there are not onely in Bohemia, but even in the midst of Germany such Princes, who both will and can defend me from the threats thundered out against me by mine adversaries. And then perhaps it may so fall out, that hiding under their protection, I shall more strongly bend my forces against the Romanists, then if under the Princes government, I should publiquely performe my place as Reader of Divinitie. This, unlesse God prevent it, will doubtlesse be the issue of this matter. Hitherto I have given all due respect to the Prince, but then, if I be provoked by ill usage, I shall not need to submit unto him. And therefore in what matters soever I have not so roughly dealt with them, let them attribute my forbearance therein not to my modestie, nor to their tyranny, nor their deserts, but to my respect to the Prince, and to his authoritie, as also to the common good of the Students*

Tom. 1. epist.

of Wittenberg. *Concerning my ſelf, I venture upon the danger, and contemne Romes both fury and favour. Let them cenſure and burne all mine, I will not be reconciled to them, nor at any time hereafter joyne with them. On the contrary I (unleſſe I can get no fire) will burn all the Pontifician law, the ſink of hereſies; yea, I will put an end to my humble obſervance, which I have hitherto in vaine ſhewed; and wherewith the enemies of the Goſpel are more and more intenſed.*

Tom. 2. Lat. p. pag. 66. Book of Captivitie of Babylon.

Luther alſo before he ſaw the Popes Bull, put forth his book, Of the Babylonian Captivitie. In which he wiſhed, that what he had written concerning Indulgences was aboliſhed, and this propoſition divulged in ſtead thereof, *Indulgences are the wicked tricks of Romes flatterers*: And in ſtead of what he wrote againſt the Pope, this Propoſition, *The Popedome is a robuſtious Hunting practiſed by the Biſhop of Rome.* Then he handled the Sacraments, and acknowledged but three of the ſeven to be Sacraments of Chriſts Covenant. He wrote alſo *againſt the execrable Bull of Antichriſt, and call'd the Pope Antichriſt*: and confirmed the Articles cenſured by the Bull.

The Pope called Antichriſt.

An. 1520.

Charles the Emperour that yeere came to *Aquiſgran*, where with great ſolemnitie he was crowned Emperour. About the Calends of *Septemb.* he with *Frederik Elector* of *Saxony* went to *Colonia Agrippina*. At this time the controverſies of Religion being hotly proſecuted, the *Elector* would not ſuddenly do any thing of his own head, in a matter of ſo great import: but would try the votes of the moſt

moſt prudent and learned Clarkes, and among others of *Eraſmus*, whom he ſent for from *Lovan* to *Collen*. When firſt he requeſted to heare *Eraſmus* judgement concerning *Luther*, and wondered that ſo great and extreame hatred ſhould be raiſed by ſome Monks and the Pope againſt *Luther*, whoſe life and carriage he conceived to be commendable, and his doctrine not impious; *Eraſmus* anſwered in a pleaſant manner, *That his Highneſſe needed not wonder at that: for* Luther *had in his diſputations dealt againſt the Monks bellies, and the Popes crowne.* Afterward ſeriouſly and gravely giving his opinion concerning the controverſies of theſe times, he ſhewed, *that Indulgences, and other abuſes and ſuperſtitions were juſtly taxed, and that their reformation was neceſſary, and that the ſumme of* Luthers *doctrine was orthodox: and that onely he ſeemed too vehement and violent in contending with his adverſaries: and that an Evangelical buſineſſe was to be handled after an Evangelical manner. Frederick* the *Elector* being confirmed in the truth by the ſage judgement of *Eraſmus*, did gravely admoniſh *Luther* to moderate his fierceneſſe in diſputes. Then alſo there came to *Collen Martinus Coroccialus* and *Ieronymus Alexander*, who again ſet upon Duke *Frederik* in the Popes name. But when the *Elector* anſwered not as they expected, they ſaid, that they muſt deale with him according to the forme of the decree, and burnt *Luthers* books.

It is reported that theſe advocates of the Pope did promiſe *Eraſmus* a Biſhoprick of rich revenew,

Eraſmus judgement about *Luther* deſired.

Tom. 2. *Lat. Sleidan. Luthers* judgement.

Tom. 2. *Lat.*

Luthers book burnt.

Erasmus is instigated against *Luther.*

Lady *Margarets* answer.

if he would write against *Luther.* But he answered: *That Luther was a man too great for him to write against: and that he learned more from one short page of Luthers writings, then from all Thomas Aquinas bookes.* It is also said, that *Margaret* the Emperours Aunt, who ruled all *Belgium*, when the *Magistri nostri* of *Louan* complained, that *Luther* with his writings did subvert all Christendome did demaund, what manner a man *Luther* was; when they answered, *that he was an unlearned Monke*; she replied: *Why then, see that all you learned men, being a great multitude, write against that one unlearned fellow: and doubtlesse the world will give more credit to many of you being learned, then to him being but one and unlearned.*

Tom. 1. Epist. p. 290. *Luther* burneth popish bookes.

Luther knowing what was done with his writings, *An.* 1520. *Decemb.* 10. called the students of *Wittenberg* together, and in a frequent assembly of learned men, before the gate of *Elister* neer to the great Colledge, where a fire was made, *cast the Popes lawes and the Bull of Leo with some writings of Eckius, Emser and others thereinto*; and said: *Because thou troublest Christ the holy one of God, eternall fire will trouble thee.* The next day he expounded the *Psalmes* and earnestly charged his auditors *that as they loved the salvation of their soules, they should take heed of the Popes statutes.* And in writing gave a reason presently of this his action. And out of the great multitude of errors in the Popes Lawes culled out these thirty.

Thirty errors of Popery. Tom. 2. lat. pag. 125.

1. *The Pope and his clergy are not bound to be subject and obedient to the commandements of God.*

2. It

2. *It is not a precept, but a counsel of* S. *Peter, where he saith: That all men ought to be subject to Kings.*

3. *That by the Sun the Papal power, by the Moon the Imperial or secular power in a common wealth was signified.*

4. *That the Pope and his Chaire were not bound to be subject to Councels and Decrees.*

5. *That the Pope had in the Closet of his breast all lawes, and plenary power over all lawes.*

6. Whence it followeth: *That the Pope hath power to disanull, to change and determine of all Councels, and all Constitutions and Ordinances:* as he daily practiseth.

7. *That the Pope of Rome hath a right to require an oath of all Bishops, and so oblige them to him in regard of their palls received of him.*

8. *If the Pope be so neglective of his owne and his brethrens salvation, and so unprofitable and remisse in his place, that he carry along with himself (as if he were the chiefe slave of Hell) innumerable people to be eternally tormented; no mortall man ought to reprove him for this sinne.*

9. *That the salvation of all faithfull men dependeth on the Pope, next after God.*

10. *No man on earth can judge the Pope, or censure his determinations: but the Pope is judge of all men.*

11. *The sea of Rome giveth authority to all rights and Lawes, and is it selfe subject to none of them.*

12. *The Rocke on which Christ,* Matt. 16. *buildeth his Church is the sea of Rome, with them adjoyning.*

13. *The Keyes were given to* Saint Peter *onely.*

14. *Christs*

De Consiu. c. Translat. 25. q. 9. Ideo permittente.

14. *Christs Priesthood was translated from him to* Saint Peter.

15. *The Pope hath power to make Ordinances and Laws for the Catholike Church.*

16. *This sentencce, whatsoever thou bindest on earth, shall also be bound in heaven, establisheth this conclusion: that the Pope hath power to charge the Catholike Church even with his rash lawes.*

17. *That his command of abstinence from flesh, egges, butter, and other meates made of milke, is to be observed, else men sin and are liable to excommunication.*

18. *The Pope forbidding all priests to marry wives, inhibits all the Priesthood from Matrimony.*

19. *Pope Nicolaus either the 3. or 4. in his Antichristian Decretal, among other matters badly decreed, well judged that Christ by giving the Keyes gave power over both the celestial and terrestrial kingdome.*

20. *The Pope judgeth that loud and impious lye for a truth and requireth that it be received, namely, That Constantine the Great gave him the Romans provinces and Countries and power over the whole inferior world.*

21. *The Pope affirmeth, that he is the heire of the sacred Roman Empire. De sentent. et re judic. c. Pastoralis.*

22. *The Pope teacheth that it is just and lawfull for a Christian by force to repulse force and violence.*

23. *That inferiors and subjects may be disobedient and resist their Princes, and that the Pope can depose Kings.*

24. *The*

24. *The Pope laboureth to have power to dissolve and breake all oathes, leagues, obligements made between superiours and inferiours.*

25. *The Pope hath power to break and alter vowes made to God. De voto. & voto. red.*

26. *The Pope teacheth that he that delayes to pay his vow commanded by God, is not to be censured, as a breaker of his vow. ibid.*

27. *The Pope teacheth, that no married man or woman can serve God.*

28. *The Pope compareth his unprofitable lawes with the Gospels and sacred scriptures.*

29. *The Pope hath power to interpret and unfold or expound the sacred scripture as his pleasure and will: and to permit no man to interpret the same otherwise then the Pope himselfe pleaseth.*

30. *The Pope receiveth not his authority, power, strength, and dignitie from the scripture; but the scripture from the Pope.*

This in briefe is the summe of the whole Canon Law: *The Pope is God on earth, supreame in all heavenly, earthly, spirituall, and secular matters. And, All things are the Popes; to whom none dare say: what doe you?*

Here *Frederik* Prince *Elector* obtained of the Emperour to call *Luther* to the Diet held at *Wormes* in March *An.* 1521. *Luther* receiving the Emperours graunt for his safety, went from *Wittenberg*, and was conducted thence by *Caspar* Sturmius Herauld, and accompanied with *Iustus Ionas*, *Peter Schurfius*, and *Nic. Amsdorfe*. Of the students he

Luther sent for to *Wormes*. 1521. And goeth thither.

he tooke onely *Peter Suavenus* a *Dane* as his companion: who afterward being called by *Christian* King of *Denmarke* to his Court did much advance good letters, and did the Church good service. When he came to *Hidelberg*, he proffered to dispute publiquely with any that would.

Some dehort him.

Here many did dehort *Luther* from going to *Worms*: Others said, that by the burning of his books, he might know what was the Popes censure concerning himselfe: Others told him of the usage of *Hus* and *Savonarola*. But *Luther* with a resolute courage lightly regarded their advise, and sayd, *that these discouragements were but cast into his way by Satan, who knew, that by the profession of the truth, especially in so illustrious a place, his kingdome would be shaken and indamaged.* He further brake forth into these words: *I know that there were as many Devils in Worms, as tiles on the houses, yet would I goe thither.* Also *Francis* of *Sickingen* one in high esteeme with the Emperour, at *Bucers* request did invite *Luther* to come to his Castle at *Ebernburgh*, where the cause might more commodiously be agitated. But *Luther* answered, that he was sent for by the *Emperour*, not to *Ebernburgh*, but to *Wormes*: and thither he would goe. So taking his journey he came to *Wormes* on April the fifth, which was the third Holyday after *Misericordias Domini*. They say the Duke of *Bavaria* his *Jester*, whether suborned by others, or by some instinct, met *Luther* at his entrance into the towne with a Crosse, as it wont in funerals, and sung with a loud voyce: *Welcome, welcome, thou hither,*

Luther commeth to *Worms*.

hither, and much desired of us, who sate in darknesse. Presently some counselled *Cæsar*, that *Luther* was to be delt with, as they did with *Hus*. But *Cæsar* thought it just to make good his promise: and especially *Lodowik* the Elector *Palatine* withstood the designment: and prudently sayd; *That if they should take that course with Luther, it would set a brand of infamy and eternall disgrace on the name of Germany.*

Promise of safety to *Luther* was to be kept.

On the 17. day of *April*, at 4. a clock in the afternoon, he appeared before the *Emperour*, and *many Princes*, his Assessours. Here *Iohn Eckius* a Lawyer, *Cæsars* Spokesman, and Officiall of *Triers*, upon command said, with an audible voyce, *Martin Luther, there are two causes*, why *Cæsar* with the consent of the Princes and States have sent for you: which I now propound to you, and expect your answer. First, *Whether these Books* (here he held up a bundle of books written in the *Latine* & German tongues) *were written by you, and do you acknowledge them to be yours?* The second, *Whether you will revoke and recant any thing in them, or stand in defence* of them. *Ieronie Schurfius* a Lawyer on *Luthers* part, desired that the titles of the books might be recited and spoken publiquely; which being done; *Luther* briefly repeated what was desired of him, and answered. "Concerning the books now named, I "professe and acknowledge that they be mine. But "concerning my defence of what I have written, "(that I may answer rightly thereunto) seeing it is "a matter of very great moment, I desire (that I

Luther appeareth before *Cæsar*.

What he is to answer to.

Luthers answer.

"may not ſpeake raſhly and againſt my conſcience) "ſome time to deliberate. After ſome debate of the matter, *Eckius* ſaid again. "Though by *Caſar* "letters miſſive you might well underſtand the "cauſe, why you were ſent for, and therefore need "not to delay, but make your anſwer preſently: "yet *Caſar*, ſuch is his clemency, granteth you one "day for to deliberate on the matter: and com- "mands that to morrow about this houre you here "preſent your ſelf, and make your diſtinct anſwer "by word of mouth, and not by writing. Upon *Luthers* deſiring of reſpit, ſome thought that he would not be conſtant: but they failed in their opi- nion. Here I may not paſſe it over in ſilence, that when *Luther* drew neere to *Cæſars* throne, many of the Princes Counſell encouraged him, ſaying: that he ſhould be of good courage and not faint, *Nor feare them who could kill the body onely, but not hurt the ſoule.* Others put him in minde, to meditate on this: *When ye ſhall appeare before Kings and Princes, be not ſolicitous, how and what to anſwer. For in that moment, it ſhall be given you, what you ſhall ſay.*

Luther incouraged by divers preſent. *Mat.* 10. 19. 20.

The day following, *Luther* appeared at the houre appointed. And after that *Eckius* had asked him: *What now was his reſolution?* he firſt humbly deſired of the *Emperour* and *Princes*; "That they would "grant him their gentle attention: *and then ſaid*; "Of the books which I have written, ſome of them "tend to faith and Pietie; to theſe my adverſaries "give ample Teſtimony. Should I recant theſe, I "might be juſtly cenſured as a wicked man. Other

Luthers ſecond anſwer.

"of my books are againſt the Pope of Rome and "Papiſticall doctrine, which both hath and ſtill "doth much trouble the Chriſtian world, and doth "much miſchiefe. Theſe ſhould I revoke, I ſhould "confirme their tyranny. The third ſort of my "books are againſt ſome private men, who defend "the Papiſts cauſe, and by many calumnies upon "me. In theſe, I confeſſe, I have been too vehement: "and beſides I confeſſe, that I am not of an uner-"ring perfection: but yet I can not ſafely revoke "theſe books, unleſſe I will ſet open a gap to the "impudency of many. Being a man I may erre: "and therefore deſire any one better to inſtruct "me by the teſtimony of Scripture. *When he had "thus ſaid*, Eckius *with a ſowre countenance replyed.* "You anſwer not to the matter, nor doth it per-"taine to you to call the authoritie of the Coun-"cell into queſtion. A plaine and direct anſwer is "required of you, whether you deſire that your "writings ſhould ſtand good. *Then ſaid Luther.* "Seeing you, O Cæſar, and the Princes command "me to anſwer punctually, I obey. This is my re-"ſolution: Unleſſe I be convicted by teſtimony "of Scripture or evident reaſon, I may not revoke "any thing, which I have written or ſpoken. *For I "will not in any wiſe wound my conſcience.* I do not "conforme my beleefe to the Popes or the Coun-"cels determinations alone; for they have often "erred and delivered contrarieties one to ano-"ther. I neither can nor will doe any thing con-"cerning Gods word to the offence of my conſci-"ence.

Eckius indignation and reply.

ence. Seeing it is neither safe nor honest to do any thing against conscience. This will I stand to: vary from this I may not. God helpe me, Amen. When he was againe urged, he persisted in this answer. So they departed.

Cæsars Letter to the Princes about *Luthers* cause.

The next day *Cæsar* sent a letter to the assembly of the Princes, this was the summe thereof. "Our ancestors and other Christian Princes obeyed carefully the Church of Rome which now Dr *Martin Luther* oppugneth: now because he is resolute not to yeeld one inch of his errors, we cannot without a blemish to our name depart from the example of our ancestors, but must defend the ancient faith, and be assistant to the Sea of Rome: we will then excommunicate *Martin Luther* himselfe and all his adherents, and take any other course, which may conduce to extinguish these disputes. But we will not in any wise violate, and breake our promise made to him under our seale, but give him safe conduct to the place, whence he came."

This Letter of *Cæsar* was diligently and a good while scanned in the Senate by the Princes. It is reported that some there were among them, who would have followed the decree and practise of the Councel of *Constance*: and held themselves not bound to make good the promise of his safe return. But some of the Princes, especially *Ludovick* Prince *Palatine* (as it is reported) earnestly withstood them. Wherefore they judged that not onely fidelitie was to be observed towards him, but also, that he

he was not rashly to be condemned; because the matter was of very great consequence, whatsoever the Emperour decreed: whom being newly come to the Imperiall seat they did well perceive to be prest sed and provoked by the Popes instruments against *Luther*.

After a few dayes the Archbishop of *Triers* and other Princes, who by *Cæsars* permission were present, call *Luther* April 24. unto them. The Bishop then in a friendly manner delt with him to desist from his resolution. But *Luther* giving him thankes for care of his safety, stood firmly in his former doctrine: *and submitted what ever he had written to Cæsars and the Princes perusall, and judgement, so that they tried them by Gods word.* When the Bishop asked him, *what remedy he knew, or could advise for these stirres?* Luther answered: *None other then that of Gamaliel in the Acts of the Apostles: If this counsel and proceeding be of Men, it will not continue; if of God, no power of man can dissolve it.* And this he besought him to signifie to the Pope. The Bishop againe said, *What if the Articles were collected and submitted to the Councel?* Luther answered, *Yes they might, so that they were not the same which the Councel at Constance condemned.* The Bishop replying: *that he feared they would be the very same.* Luther courageously answered: *Those will I defend, though I were presently to die.* Hereupon the Bishop quietly dismissed *Luther*: *who intreated him, that he might have leave to returne to his friends, and have safe conduct from Cæsar.* The Bishop promised to obtaine it for him, and a little while

The Archbishop of *Triers* dealing with *Luther*. *Sleidan.* B. 3.

while after sent *Eckius* the officer of *Cæsar* to signifie to *Luther*, "that he had free liberty to depart "under *Cæsars* protection within 21. dayes: with- "all he was bid not to preach in his journey home, "nor to write any thing, which might rayse further stirres. *Luther* answered "As it seemeth good to "the Lord, so be it: blessed be the name of God. Afterward he gave humble thankes to *Cæsar* and the Princes, and commended himselfe to them.

Luthers departure from *Wormes*.

On the 26. of April *Luther* taking his leave departed from *Wormes*. *Casp. Sturmius* a Messenger some houres after followed him, and found him at *Openheim*. *Luther* being in his journey sent Letters backe both to *Cæsar* and the Princes Electors, and States of the Empire, "commending himselfe and "his cause to them; and sayd he was ready to doe "any thing, which was meet, except to revoke a- "ny thing, that he knew to be warranted by Gods "word. The Emperour hereupon, May the 28. proscribed *Luther*: whom Pope *Leo* on the 28. of March on the day of the administration of the Lords Supper, had excommunicated. At this all men stood earnestly expecting, what those thunder-bolts would effect.

Luther excommunicate & proscribed.

Frederik the *Elector* a prudent Prince, seeing *Luther* to have incurred the hatred of all, that no danger might seize on him, committed the businesse of conveying *Luther* into some safe place, where he might be free from accesse, to some faithfull friends of the Nobility, that there he should be kept private, till *Cæsar* was departed out of *Ger-*

many.

many. They presently, faithfully, and secretly conveyed him to the Castle of *Wartenburg* neere *Isenack*: This place *Luther* afterward used to call his *Patmos*. There were but eight privy to this, who did it with that secrecy that not any but themselves could know what was become of him. It is reported that the Papists set their wisards on worke to descry him: but they could not certainly designe the place where he was. *Luther* abode in that woody wildernesse about tenne monethes: and in this retiredneſſe wrote diverse usefull Treatises for the Church; as the *Explications of the Gospels and Epistles* dedicated to *Albertus* of *Mansfield*: the book against *Latomus* about sinne remaining in the regenerate. Besides he cut in two the two sinnewes of the Popes kingdome, namely, *Private Masses* and *Monastick Vowes*, which books he dedicated to the *Augustine Friers* (who in his absence abrogated private Masses and began to dispute about Monastick Vowes) and to his Father. They of *Wittenberg* also gave a reason to the *Elector* why they did so: and shewed to what end Temples and Colledges were instituted at the first; that is, *not for private Masses, but that young people might be there brought up piously: and that the meanes they were indowed with, were for the use of both Readers and Scholars that were in want. And that this buying and selling of Masses was crept in within foure hundreth yeeres of that time.*

Luther found courteous entertainment and kind respect in that his wildernesse: for in his Epistles he often mentions the friendly offices of his *Hoste*: to whom

Luther conveyed to *Wartenburgh*. *Luthers Patmos*.

Luthers works written in this his retiredneſſe.

Private masse taken away at *Wittenberg*.

Luthers taking the aire and his recreation.

whom he preached on the Lords day and at Festivall times in his private Chappell. Some times *Luther* for his healths sake went forth into the strawberry groves, and somewhat farther into the Monasteries, which were neere, taking upon him the name *Lunker George* a noble man, and accompanied onely with one attendant, who was faithfull and secret, and would often warne *Luther* in the places where they were entertained, *not presently to lay aside his sword, and to take in hand the books before him; for so he might be descried.* Sometimes he went forth a hunting with his friends. Of this sport thus he writeth. "I was a hunting two dayes, to see that lordly "but bitter-sweet sport. Here we took two Hares, "and some silly young Partridges. The sport is "meet for such as have nothing else to do. There "did I contemplate as a Divine amidst their nets "and dogs. Nor did the outward appearance of "the game more delight me, then what I conceived by it, move me to pitie and griefe. For what "could this sport signifie and resemble, but by the "dogs, wicked Popish divines, and by the nets, the "cunning tricks and wiles by which they seeke to "catch harmlesse Christians, as hunters those silly "creatures? This was a most evident mysterie of "the pursuing of plain hearted and faithfull souls. "Yet was there a more cruell mysterie presented "to me: When by my meanes, we kept a young "Hare alive, and put her in my Coats sleeve, and "so left her: in the meane time the dogs finding "it, broke one of her legs, and taking her by the "throat,

Hunting is a resemblance of the devils practise.

"as she was in the sleeve, stopt her wind. Thus it is "with Satan and the Pope, who cruelly destroy "poore souls without regard of my paines to save "them. I was by this time weary of this sport, and "thought that more pleasing, where Beares, "Wolves, Bores, Foxes, and such like savage crea- "tures are strook dead with darts and arrows. It "comforted me again, (for I took it as a mystery & "resemblance of salvation) that Hares and harm- "less creatures are taken by men, & not by Beares, "Wolves and ravenous Hawkes who resemble Po- "pish Bishops and Divines: because by these may "be signified a devouring by Hell, by those an ea- "ting of them as food for heaven.

He passed also to *Wittenberg* from his *Patmos* making few acquainted therewith, and lodged with *Amsdorf*: here he spent some few dayes and was merry with his friends, without the Electors knowledge. In his retiredness he was much troubled with costiveness, having the benefit of naturall ease that way but once in foure or five dayes. Then also was he tried by some devillish tentations, which much disquieted him. This disease he overcame by exercise, and medicines sent him from *Spalatinus*. Then read he also the Hebrew and Greek Bibles: and besides the books above mentioned, he wrote many letters to his friends, which he now printed.

He came privately to *Wittenberg*. *Tom.* 1. *epist. pag.* 367. *Luthers* infirmitie. *Tom.* 1. *epist. pag.* 361.

At length not enduring further delay and innovations, he returned from his *Patmos* to *Wittenberg*, without the knowledge of the Electour. (*March* the sixth, *Ann.* 1522. he rendred these reasons of his

He returned to *Wittenberg*.

Tom. 2. epist. pag. 47.

his return to the Electour. First, said he, *I am call'd back by the Letters of the Church and People of* Wittenberg, *and that with much solicitation and entreaty.* Secondly, *at* Wittenberg *Satan hath made an inrode into my flock, and raised such stirres, that I cannot well represse and quiet them with my writing alone, but of necessitie I must live there, be present among them, and both heare them and speake to them, goin and out before them, and do what I can for their good. Besides I feare, that some great and violent sedition will arise in* Germany, *and make* Germany *undergo grievous punishment for its contempt and ingratitude. I thought it therefore needfull to doe what I ought and could for them in this regard by my counsell and endeavour, to teach, admonish and exhort them, thereby to avert Gods anger and judgement, or at least to stay them awhile. Furthermore, I know well, and am verily perswaded that my preaching, and my proceeding to divulge the Gospel of Christ is not of my own motion, but the worke of God. Nor shall any kinde of death or persecution shake this my confidence, and make me thinke otherwise, and I conceive that I rightly divine that no terrours or cruelties can put out the light already shining.* And in an other Epistle. *I return to* Wittenberg *under a more sublime and strong protection, then the* Elector of Saxonie *can give me. Nor did I ever minde to sue for defence from your Highnesse. Moreover did I know that your Highnesse would and could defend me, verily I would not returne. No sword can advance and maintaine this cause. God alone can order and promote it, without any mans excessive care and helpfull hand. Therefore in*

Luthers confidence, and relying on God.

this

this cauſe he that moſt ſtrongly truſts to Gods aſſiſtance, he moſt ſurely defendeth himſelf and others. Seeing therefore I perceive your Highneſſe to be weake in faith, I can by no meanes attribute ſo much to your Highneſſe, as to be perſwaded that I can be defended and freed from danger by you. I will keep your Highneſſe perſon, your minde and body, and eſtate ſafe from all danger and damage in this my cauſe, whether you beleeve me or not. Let your Highneſſe then be aſſured and not doubt at all, that this matter is farre otherwiſe concluded of in heaven, then at Norimberg. *For we ſhall finde, that they which think they have devoured all the Goſpel and queld it in the riſing, are not yet come to the* Benedicite. *I have to deale with another manner and more powerfull Prince, then our Duke. He knoweth me, and I him conveniently well. Did your Highneſſe beleeve, you ſhould behold the wonderfull works and glory of God: Whereas you not yet beleeving, ſee none of theſe things. To God be glory and praiſe for ever. This and much more to this purpoſe he wrote, ſhewing his full aſſurance and plerophory of faith moſt admirable.* He alſo wrote thus to *Melanchthon* concerning the cauſe of his return. *Provide a lodging for me, for the Tranſlation of the Bible compels me to return to you: pray to God that it may ſtand with his good pleaſure. I deſire to conceale my ſelf, as much as I can, yet will I proceed in my worke reſolved upon.* He wrote the like to *Amſdorf*: That *for the tranſlation of the Bible he muſt return to* Wittenberg, *that therein he might uſe other mens counſell and help.*

Another cauſe of *Luthers* return.

Luther being returned, from the Lords Day firſt

in Lent that whole weeke every day preached one Sermon; theſe are extant: and in them he ſhewed what he liked or diſliked in the alterations made in his abſence. He found fault with them, *who had abrogated private Maſſe and Idols, and adminiſtred the Lords Supper in both kinds, and taken away auricular confeſſion, differences of meats, invocation of Saints, and other the like matters; not becauſe they had done impiouſly, but becauſe they proceeded not herein orderly.* "He affirmed that he condemned the Papiſticall "Maſſe, the worſhipping of Images, the rules of "auricular confeſſion, prayer to Saints, the Popiſh "faſting: but he did condemne them onely by the "Word of God preached, and not by a violent ab-"rogation of them. How much he prevailed by "thoſe Sermons, he telleth in theſe words. I, ſaith "he, gave offence to *Caroloſtade*, becauſe I blamed "his proceedings, though I condemned not his "doctrin. Onely this diſliked me, that dealing a-"bout ceremonies and outward matters, he labour-"ed leſſe in that which is Chriſtian doctrin indeed, "namely, faith and charitie: for by his unadviſed "courſe of teaching, he brought the people to this "paſſe, that he thought himſelfe a Chriſtian by "theſe petty matters, by communicating in both "kinds, by not uſing confeſſion, and by breaking "down images, &c. And this was the beginning of diſſention between *Luther* and *Caroloſtade*.

Caroloſtade offended with *Luther*.

1522. *Luther* tranſlated the New Teſtament and printed it.

In this 22. yeer the New Teſtament came forth, as it was tranſlated into the *German* tongue in his *Patmos*, and afterward reviſed ſomewhat by

* *Me-*

* *Melancthon.* Some Popiſh Princes and Biſhops prohibited their people to read it. He wrote alſo a Letter to the * *Bohemians* concerning matters of great moment: and *exhorted them to conſtancie in the truth, which they had received, and that they would not fall back to Antichriſt for a vain hope of peace. He alſo diſſwaded them from making themſelves guiltie of the innocent blood of* John Hus *and* Jerome *of* Prague. *And where as ſome objected their many different Sects, he ſhewed that there were many more among the Papiſts: and preſcribed the* Bohemians *a courſe, how they might cure this diſeaſe.* Here he inveighed earneſtly againſt ſuch Biſhops, as did condemne and perſecute the doctrin of the Goſpel: and being often provoked did neither defend their own doctrin, nor refute *Luthers.* He ſhewed them that by their tyranny they ſhould not prevaile: becauſe he was neither moved by the Popes Anathema or curſe, nor Cæſars proſcription, and that he would endeavour "ſo much the more to propagate the Goſpel, and "ſet to it with the more courage, by how much "the more violently they withſtood it: and that "the Goſpel would not be extinguiſhed, though "they ſhould kill him: and that God would plague "them moſt conſpicuouſly and grievouſly, if they "proceeded in their furious courſe. In this booke he ſo angred the then Biſhops, Abbats, Monks, and the whole dregs of them, that they reſolved that ſeeing they could not burne *Luther* himſelf, they would burne all his books.

About this time alſo, *Luther* confuted *Nicolas Stork*,

* *Melanct.* uſed about it. *Tom. 2. epiſt. p. 55. & ep ſt. 1. to Camerar.*

* *Tom. 2. epiſt. pag. 85.*

Luthers dealing with the ring-leaders of the Anabaptists.

Stork, *Thomas Muncer* and other fanaticall ring-leaders, and Prophets broaching new doctrines, who pretended revelations Angelical, and conferences with God, and denyed the Baptisme of infants: and thereby sowed the seed of Anabaptisme. These false prophets came from the *Cygnean* Citie to *Wittenberg*, in *Luthers* absence, and molested *Carolostade*, and *Melancthon*. Now also *Luther* answered *Henry* the eight King of *England*, who, as other adversaries also, set out a book against *Luther*, and had given him by Pope *Leo* the title of *Defender of the Faith of the Church*. Onely *Luther* answered him somewhat sharply: which course some of *Luthers* friends disliked. Of the same thus *Erasmus* wrote. *If* Luther *first commending the godly care of the King, had afterward with solid arguments refuted his opinions, and laid no disgrace on the Kings person, I suppose he had done that which would much have advanced his cause.* Againe. *What set* Luther *on, to say in his book against the King? Let your Highnesse come to me, and I will teach you. Truely the Kings book was written in a good Latine style, and not unlearnedly.*

Luthers harsh answer to the King of *England*.

Luthers excuse for so writing.

Luther thus excuseth this his fact. *If any man be offended at my sharpnesse towards the King, I thus answer him. In that book I have to do with senselesse monsters, who contemne my best and most modest writings, and my humble submission, and are more hardened by my calmnesse. Besides I abstained from bitter speeches and lyes, with which the Kings book is full fraught: nor is it any great matter, if I give no more respect to an earthly King, and speake sharply, seeing he was not afraid to*

blaspheme

blaſpheme the King of Heaven with his ſpeech, and to ſpeake profanely in his virulent lyes. God the righteous judge divide the matter between us. This book he dedicated to *Sebaſtian* Earle of *Schlick*, whoſe ſingular pietie and zeale he commendeth: and ſaith, he will make this writing the beginning of his flying to the *Bohemians*. For both the King and others had falſely accuſed him of flying thither and did triumph and brag, ſaying: *We have wonne the day, the Heretick is fled to the Hereticks.*

Sebaſtian Earl of *Schlick*.

In the yeere 1523. at the Aſſembly at *Norinberg*, the Emperour being abſent, the decree made at *Wormes* was diſannulled. And when the Popes Legate complained thereof, and ſaid, that *Luther* was not puniſhed according to *Cæſars* decree; The Princes anſwered *that moſt men in Germany were ſo inſtructed by* Luthers *Sermons and books; that if that decree had been executed, it would have given occaſion of great ſedition; and that this conſtruction would have been made thereof; namely, that the truth of the Goſpel was thereby oppreſſed and extinguiſhed, and manifeſt errors and evils ſtood for, which might not be tolerated or winked at any longer. And that now this aſſembly was gathered, that a free Councell might ſhortly be kept in* Germany *at* Mentz, *or* Argentorate, *or* Mets, *or* Cullen. *And that in the meane time* Luther *and others ſhould ſet forth no books; the Preachers ſhould Preach nothing but the Goſpel, plainly and modeſtly, according to the interpretations commonly received by the Church; that ſuch Preachers as tranſgreſſed ſhould be mildly puniſhed by ſit men appointed by the Biſhops: leſt any*

1523. An aſſembly at *Norinberg*.

A Councell to be held in *Germany*.

one should suspect, that this was done to hinder the free preaching of the Gospel: that the Printers should imprint, or divulge nothing, but what was allowed and approved by learned and judicious men; that the Priests who had married wives, should be amerced according to the award of the Popes lawes. There were here also exhibited to the Legate an hundreth grievances of the *German* nation: of which we will speak else-where.

The hundred grievances of *Germany*. *Sleid. lib. 4. pag. 29.*

This Decree was diverslly interpreted by severall "parties, *Luther* by his letters to the Princes de- "clared how he conceived the meaning of it. And "1, that they commanding that the Gospel should "be taught according to the received judgement "of the Church, intended not according to the "course of *Thomas* or *Scotus*, but of *Hilarie*, *Am-* "*brose*, *Augustine* and the like. Againe, that the "Bishops should chuse fit men, who should be pre- "sent at Sermons, and mildly admonish such as of- "fended, if need were. This *Luther* shewed to be "well decreed, but could never be effected: be- "cause they wanted learned men. Concerning that "which they decreed about books, he rejected it "not: so that the decree did not extend to the sa- "cred books of the Scripture; the publishing "whereof was in no wise to be prohibited. Lastly, "concerning the amercing of Priests who either "married, or left their order, the decree was too "harsh, and if the Gospel was purely to be preach- "ed, ought to be mitigated. The Emperour was "somewhat offended with this decree, and at- "tempted

Luther interprets the Decree. *Sleidan. 4. pag. 83.*

Cæsar was offended at the Decree.

"tempted by his Legate to take it away: but all in vain. *For this busineſſe was farre otherwiſe concluded of in heaven then at Nurinberg*, as *Luther* wrote. For the Princes and Cities of the Empire ſtrove, who firſt ſhould admit the reformed doctrin. This was done in *Denmark*, *Pruſſia*, *Livonia*, *Sileſia*, and elſewhere.

The Goſpel propagated. *Tom.* 2. *epiſt. pag.* 121.

In this yeere *Luther* ſet forth the book concerning the dignitie and office of the *Civil Magiſtrate*: *Frederik* the *Elector* was much delighted with this book. He wrote alſo to the *Waldenſes*, commonly called the *Picards*, concerning the adoring the Sacrament. In which book he firſt mentions the opinion of *Berengarius* concerning the Lords Supper, before he began the contention with the *Helvetians*.

Luthers book concerning the Civill Magiſtrate. 1523.

He now alſo ſet forth the five books of *Moſes* in the *German* tongue, three thouſand yeers ſince the death of *Moſes*. He publiſhed alſo a book to the Senate of *Prague*, about *ordaining of Miniſters*, and another, about *avoyding the doctrine of men*. "He "wrote this yeere alſo to the *Livonians*, and ſhewed "his great joy at their entertaining the Evangeli- "call doctrin: which many tyrants in *Germany* "ſought obſtinately to oppreſſe: and forewarned "them, that they muſt expect cruell perſecutions "of the ſame kind: to the undergoing whereof, he "gravely and pioufly exhorted them, encouraging "them to be reſolute and to perſevere valiantly in "the truth of the Goſpel, which they had re- "ceived. He further did inſtruct them briefly [illegible] "plainly,

The *German* Pentateuch.

"plainely concerning Justifying faith and the true "nature of good workes.

The forme of the Masse set out by *Luther*. Chytreus in *Sax.* 10. pag. 282.

He this yeere also set forth a *forme of the Masse*, and *Communion*; herein he retained all the usuall rites, which were not plainly repugnant to the word of God: as *the preface out of the Psalmes, the Kyrie, the Collect, the Epistle, the sequence, the Gospel, the Creed, the sermon, the prayers, the preface, the Sanctus, the Lords prayer, the wordes of the Lordes supper, the Elevation, the agnus Dei, the thanksgiving*. But the *Canon of the Masse*, which transformed the Lords supper into a sacrifice for the quicke and the dead, he wholly omitted. This was the first change of the rites, though *Carolostadius* attempted the like before. *Auricular confession* was also brought into use againe, and *private absolution* also, which *Carolostadius* had abandoned. And when 3. Monkes of the *Augustinian* profession were the first day of *July* burnt by the *Inquisitor*, & first shed their blood for the reformed doctrine of the faith; *Luther* renowned their constancy with an hymne of Psalm, and praised them as the first Martyrs of his time. Of this story also *Erasmus* * writeth. Then also *Luther* sent a Letter consolatory to the *Augustans* which is extant amidst his workes. He wrote also to the *Miltebergians*, who were then in danger for the Gospels sake. Their first instructor was *Iohn Druco Carolostadius*. *Luther* also comforted three noble *Misnian* virgins, which were turned out of the *Friburg* Court of *Henry* Duke of *Saxonie*. Other Nuns left their Cloysters elsewhere, whereupon

Auricular Confession.

2. Martyrs in *Germany*. 1523.

* *Epist.* b. 21. b. 7. and b. 24. E. 4.

Luther wrote thus to *Spalatinus*. *There came to me those nine converted Nunnes, who left Nimpschen Monastery: miserable is their case, but they were conducted by honest citizens of Torgaw*, "namely by *Leonard* "*Coppe*, and his unkles sonne, and *Wolfius Tomit-* "*zech*, that there is no cause of suspition. I much "pity them, but especially many other their like, "who every where in great number perish by their "cursed and incestuous chastitie. That sex is most "weake of it selfe, and by Gods and natures ap- "pointment, is to be a mate for man, and being by "papisticall cruelty shut up from men is brought "into perdition. Among them was *Katherin de Bora* who afterward was *Luthers* wife. He writes to to the same *Spalatinus* elsewere of other Nunnes, thus. "There departed 16. Nunnes out of the Mo- "nastery of *Widdetstetten* under the *Earle* of *Mans-* "*feld*, of which 11. came to the *Quastes* of *Alstet*. "Of them *Albertus* received five. It is now deba- "ted among them, whether they ought to be en- "tertained or rejected. Nor yet is here an end of "our newes. This yeere is most fruitfull of Novel- "ty, and as I perceive still will be. *Luther* also often "was earnest with the *Elector* of *Saxony* suing to "him by *Spalatinus* that he would demolish the *Wit-* "*tenbergian Bethaven*, that is the Colledge of *All* "*Soules*. And gave this reason. Because almost all "the Priests there not onely live wickedly, but al- "so are contemners of God and men with obsti- "nate hearts, and every night play the whoremas- "ters, and in the mornings say Masse with an im-

Nunnes leaving their Cloysters.

Tom. 2. Epist. p. 131.

Tom. 2. ep. p. 139.

Tom. 2. ep. p. 134. and 112.

"pudent and brasen forehead. For this he called "*Amsdorfe* to witnesse: and sayd that all of them, "except three, were wanton persons, and not to "be maintained: yea, that it was the duty of the "Magistrats to prohibite their whoredom, & com-"pell them to marry. For though no man can be "compelled and forced to the truth: yet pub-"lique wickednesse is to be taken away. At the "least the Masses might be forborne, which were "maintained at the Princes charge, and were wick-"edly performed, and to no good end.

Luther excusing himselfe. Tom. 2. pag. 121.

John the Prince of *Anhalt* by Doctour *Ieronymus* and a *Franciscan* warned *Luther* to acquite himselfe of holding a new Article, with which *Ferdinand* of *Norinberg* did charge him, namely, that *he held that Christ was the seed of Abraham*. At the first *Luther* conceived that they jested with him: but when he found that they spoke it sadly, he was forced to give credit to their speech, that he was in very deed so accused.

Frederik Duk. of *Saxony* warned to punish *Luther*.

Pope *Adrian* then opposed the Gospel, and by his *Bull*, as they call it, very much blamed *Frederik* Electour of *Saxony* for the neglect of his duty in not punishing or banishing *Luther*. And then warned and intreated the Prince, that now at length he he would doe it: and if he would not, *he should try how keen the Popes and Emperours swords were*. The same request *Henry the eight King of England* and *Lodowik King of Hungary* and *Bohemia* made. To all these the Elector returned no other answer, then *that Luther was first to be heard in the Councel, before he*

was

was to be condemned. The *Popes Legate* also accused *Luther* at the *Nericlan* assembly; as *being most like to* Mahomet. *For as the Turkes by Polygamy, so Luther taking away the vowes of Chastity doth loose the reines to all licentiousnesse, and overthrow the state of the Church, and therefore he might be condemned before he was heard: besides, as now he did shew his cruelty against the Ecclesiastical state, he would afterward doe the like against the Politicall.*

The Popes Legate accuseth *Luther*.

In this yeere *Christiern* King of *Denmark* and his wife sister of *Charles* the fifth were expulsed their Kingdome for his too violent government. And being in banishment at the Court of his Uncle *Frederik* Elector of *Saxony*, heard *Luther* preach.

In the 24. yeere *Clemens* the 7. made Pope in *Adrians* steed sent *Laur. Campegius* the Cardinal his Legate to *Norinberg*. He wrote at large to *Frederik* the Elector, and highly prayed the Popes good will, and did undertake *that a Counsel should be called.* Then also *Cæsar* and most of the Princes of the Empire prested for the decree of *Worme*. Which thing when *Luther* had notice of, he bewayled the state of *Germany*, and complained of the blindnesse of men. That yeere *Erasmus Roterod.* perswaded by the King of *England* and *Thomas Woolsey* Cardinal, wrote against *Luther*. He put forth (against his will, as he wrote to *Melanthon*) the Treatise concerning free-will. What was *Luthers* judgement about the same, that which he wrote to *Spalatinus* sheweth, namely, *It is incredible how I disdaine the booke of Erasm. concerning free-will: and yet I have scarce read eight leaves*

Laurent. Campegius the Popes Legate

Erasmus wrote against *Luther* being much importuned thereunto.

Tom. 2. epist. 230.

leaves thereof. It grieveth me to answer so unlearned a book of a man so learned. That book was answered by *Luther*, *An.* 1526. with which delay the mindes of learned men were held in suspence, what would be the issue of the controversie.

This yeere was remarkable for the unhappy Sacramentary controversie; The beginning and proceeding whereof is related in the life of *Carolostade*, *Zwingl.* and *Oecolamp.* and I list not here to renew our griefs by opening the sore again.

Munzers writing against *Luther.*

About this time came forth the fanatick writing of *Tho. Muncer* of *Stolberg*, and the Preacher of *Allstet*; in which he disgorged his venemous fury against the *Lutherans*. The book which he wrote against *Luther* was dedicated to *Christ Prince of Princes*. He railed on *Luther*, because *he wanted an Enthusiasticall spirit*, and had nothing in his writing but a carnall spirit. The same *Munzer* wrote to *Melanthon* a letter plainly shewing his fanaticall spirit.

The *Psalmes* put forth, &c.

Luther now put forth *Davids Psalter* in the *German* tongue, & a book against the seditious, and an Epistle to *Frederick* and *John* Princes of *Saxony* against the enemies of images, and Enthusiasts, who boasted of illumination and conference with God. He also set forth a book about the Exaltation of *Bennos* Bishop once of *Misnia*, whose bones were on the sixteen day of *May* digged up at *Misnia*, exalted, and placed in a marble Tombe: which act some took to be religious, other jested and laughed thereat.

Of *Benno* Bishop of *Misnia.*

This yeere in *October*, *Luther* laid aside his Monkish-

kiſhhood: and declared his judgement concerning the Synode to be called for determination of the ceremonies, ſaying thus. *I thinke it not very ſafe to call together a Councell of our men for the ſetling an uniformitie of Ceremonies: for it will ſet a bad example, though it be attempted with a good zeale, as appeareth by all Councels from the beginning. So that in the Apoſtolicall Synode they did more treat concerning matter of action and Traditions, then of faith. In the Synodes after this they never diſputed about faith; but alwayes about opinions and queſtions, that the name of Councels is more ſuſpected and hated by me then the name of free will. If one Church will not of its own accord imitate another in externall matters, what need is there to compell them by the decrees of Councels, which preſently are changed into lawes and ſnares to intangle mens ſoules. Rather let one Church freely follow the good example of another, or let each Church enjoy her owne wayes, ſo that the unitie of the ſpirit be kept intire in faith by the word of God, though there be diverſitie and outward ceremonies, and elements of the world.* About this time the Prieſts of *Wittenberg* keeping their Popiſh rites, were at length evicted, and in the end of the yeere abrogating private Maſſe, began a Reformation in the Cathedrall Church. *Luther* had long preſſed them to this, and had written thus to *Spalatinus* in this yeere. *By Gods help I will abrogate private Maſſe, or venture upon another deſigne.*

Luther caſts away his monkiſh weed.

Of calling a Counſel.

Reformation in the Cathedal Church at *Wirtenberg*. Tom. 2. Ep. p. 246. 1525.

The yeere 1525. is famous by the riſing of the Boores: when this broyle was a hatching, and the Ruſtick fury did not yet breake forth into taking up

The Boores riſe in armes.

armes, *Luther* did diſſwade all men from ſedition, as being a crime of very high nature. He alſo handled the Articles of the Boores, and ſhewed *how moſt of them were contrary to the word of God.* He wrote alſo to the Princes and Nobilitie, and put them in minde of their dutie: and by another Treatiſe *exhorted all men, to joyne for the ſubverſion of the theeviſh inſendiaries, as for the quenching of a common fire.* This book was cenſured by ſome as too ſharp, but was at large defended by *Luther.*

Luther exhorts to quell them.

The contention with *Caroloſtadius.*

In the beginning of this yeere, *Luther* anſwered *Caroloſtadius* his books, intitling his book (*Againſt the Celeſtiall Prophets.*) At *Wittenberg* then the chiefrains of the *Anabaptiſts* were called Prophets: becauſe they boaſted of ſecret revelations, and propheticall ſpirits; the principall men were *Muncer, Ciconius, Cellarius,* and his friend *Caroloſtad. Luther* in the firſt part of his book ſpeaketh of images, private Maſſe and *Caroloſtade*: and affirmeth that images were forbidden in the old Teſtament not in the new: and that *Caroloſtade* was not expelled by his meanes: and that the name of [Maſſe] was given by the Apoſtles to the Sacrament of the altar. The ſubject of the ſecond book was the *Euchariſt*, where he firſt dealt againſt *Caroloſtades* expoſition of the word (τοῦτο) *This*: and then anſwered the Arguments of *Caroloſtade*: and ſaid that the words (*which is given for you*) have this ſenſe. The *body which you eate in the bread, ere long, when it is not eaten ſhall be given for you.* And as it is not written, Take the body and eate it; ſo neither is it written, Take the bread

The *Anabaptiſts.*

The name of Maſſe.

bread and eate it. And that Christs speech, *The flesh profiteth nothing*, is to be taken as spoken not of the flesh of Christ, but of the sense of the flesh, which is death; *Rom.* 8. *That the breaking the bread, is the distribution of the body: and that the bloud of Christ which is powred out for us, now sitteth at the right hand of God; but that the efficacy of that effusion of his bloud is for ever.* And finally *that it is unknown how the bread becometh and is the body of Christ:* and that we must stick to the very words of Christ. Against this *Zwinglius* and *Oecolampadius* wrote, as is said in its due place.

The flesh profiteth nothing.

Now also *Luther* renewed the ordination of Ministers of the Gospel in the Church: Of whom *George Rorarius* was the first: and now *first the Masse was celebrated at* Wittenberg *in their mother tongue.* And now was set forth a booke of *German songs* composed by *Luther* and others the last yeere: and a book of the abomination of the Masse, in which he galled the Popish sore backt jades, and made many of them kick against him. He wrote also a letter to them of *Strasburg*, where he heard that *Carolostade* abode, and diswaded them from devouring his poyson. On the contrary *Strasburg* sent *George Caselius* the Hebrew Professor, and entreated *Luther that he would not break the unitie of the Church for the controversie of the Eucharist: that he would acknowledge* Zwinglius *and* Oecolampadius, *learned men and of good fame, for Brethren: that he would write of the Lords Supper, and shew, what he taught was consonant to the truth.*

Ordering of Ministers.

German songs.

Luther writeth to *Strasburg* about *Carolostade.*

Luthers answer.

Luther returned this answer by *Caselius*. "Namely, That nothing was more to be desired then "peace: but to be tyed to a continuall silence was "not safe: that answer could not be made without "condemning them: and that the word [condemn] "was censured as opprobrious. That he was cen"sured of those most modest men as a Cannibal, "and a worshipper of God turned bread and eata"ble: that he liked not the advise of the Divines "*Strasburgh*, concerning silence about the question "of the bodily presence, and preaching faith and "other parts of the word: That either he him"self or they were ministers of Satan: and that "therefore in this case there was counsell to be ta"ken, and no mean between both to be followed: "That the reasons brought to make the speech "tropicall were of no force. And that it must be "proved, that the verb [*est*] not in other places of "Scripture, but here is in effect [*significat.*] that "where *Paul* saith, *The rock was Christ*, he speaketh "not of the corporall, but the spirituall drink: for "he addeth the drank of the spirituall rock. And "that there was a manifest mistake in that [*This "Lambe is the Lords Passover*,] for this phrase is no "where extant in the Scripture: and therefore he "besought the brethren for Christs sake, that they "would avoyd this errour.

Luther marrieth.

Luther being fortie two yeers old, of a sudden and unexspectedly married *Katherin a Bora* a noble virgin late a Nun, and this was the occasion. *Luther* had a purpose that this *Katherine* should have been

been married to *M. Glanus*, the Paſtor of *Orlamund*. Of this ſhe having intimation, acquainted *Amſdorf*, *Luthers* inward friend, therewith, and by him intreated *Luther* to alter his determination, and to ſignifie to him, that ſhe would enter into the honourable eſtate of Matrimony with any other, rather then with *Glanus*. When *Luther* heard this, and what *Ierom Schurfius* had ſaid; namely, *that if that Monk ſhould marry her; the whole world and the devill himſelf would laugh thereat, and ſo the Monk ſhould undoe all that formerly he had done.* Here *Luther* to grieve the world of Papiſts, and the devill, and gratifie her father perſwading him thereunto, reſolved to marry her. And on the 13. day of *Iune*, inviting to ſupper *Pomeranus*, and *Apelles* the Lawyer, and *Luke* the Limmer was betrothed to her, and not long after married her. This *Luthers* enemies much diſliked, ſo did his friends alſo: not becauſe they thought the marriage unlawfull: but becauſe they wiſhed it had been done at ſome other time. For thus writeth *Camerarius*. *It fell out, that when theſe turbulent and dangerous broyles were not yet pacified,* Martin Luther *married, not long after the death of* Frederik *the chiefe of the ſeven Electors of the Empire.* Philip Melanchon *much grieved at* Luthers *marriage, not that he condemned it as unlawfull, but becauſe hereby an occaſion was given to* Luthers *enemies and ill willers, who were many, rich, and of great power, to ſpeak againſt him bitterly, and with open mouth to reproach him: when eſpecially the very time did help forward and ſet them on, who were minded ſo to do. And*

Camerarius in the life of *Melanchon.*

of what power the conveniency of time is in every action all know full well. But when he perceived that Luther *himself was somewhat troubled with the same thoughts, he not onely moderated his passion, but did cheere up* Luther, *and endeavoured to ease his griefe and sorrow with pleasant conference, and thereby brought him to his wonted cheerefulnesse again.*

What *Luthers* adversaries did about this marriage.

Luthers adversaries not onely observed the time of the marriage, but proclaimed the marriage to be incestuous, in which a Monk married a Nun. Hereupon the King of *England* in his Answer to *Luther*, stiles this marriage incestuous, and there saith among other opprobries put upon *Luther*, that he could not have committed a sinne of higher nature. *Conradus Collinus* Prior of *Cullen* and *Ierome Emsenus** the best Divine among the Papists wrote virulently and disgracefully of this marriage. Yea some there were, (whom *Erasmus* gave credit unto) who laid a sinne to *Luthers* charge, from which the time of his childs birth did acquit him. Against these disgraces *Luther* thus animated himself: saying. *If my marriage be a work of God, what wonder is there, if the flesh be offended at it? It is offended even at the flesh which God our Creator took, and gave to be a ransome, and food for the salvation of the world: if the world was not offended with me, I should be offended with the world, and should feare that it was not of God, which I have done. Now seeing the world is vexed and troubled at, I am confirmed in my course and comforted in God. So do you.* The cause of his marriage he there also relateth, saying. *We resigned the revenew of the*

* Chaplain to *George Duke of Saxony.*

Luthers answer to their opprobries.

The cause of *Luthers* marriage.

Monastery

Monaſtery to the Prince. I who abode in the Monaſtery ſo long as it pleaſed God, now like a private houſekeeper. I have not married to prolong my life, but (ſeeing my diſſolution neerer approaching, and people with their Princes to rage againſt me) that I might leave mine own doctrine for the weaks ſake confirmed by mine own example; for my doctrine may perchance be kicked againſt and trodden on after my death.

This yeere the *Anabaptiſts* ſpread themſelves over *Helvetia* and other parts of *Germany*: and began to broach their fancies at *Anwerp*. Hereupon *Luther* by an Epiſtle warned them of *Anwerp* to take heed of the erroneous ſpirit, which had hindred him very much: and recited the impoſtures of falſe ſpirits in Popery, and the by-pathes of the ſeducing ſpirits of the preſent times. There he ſet downe the erroneous Articles of a tumultuous ſpirit at *Anwerp* and opened the inconſtancy, lying, boldneſſe, and ambitious deſire of honour lurking in that Spirit: and entreateth them to *forbeare the queſtion concerning Gods hidden will, and to attend to, and learne the neceſſary precepts ſet before us by our God.* The Articles were theſe.

Anabaptiſts at *Anwerp*.

Luther writeth to *Anwerp*.

The Articles of the *Anabaptiſts*.

1. *That every man hath the Spirit.*
2. *That the Spirit was nothing elſe but our reaſon and underſtanding.*
3. *That every man beleeveth.*
4. *That there were no* (inferi) *or place of torment for mens ſoules, but that the body onely was condemned.*
5. *That every ſoule ſhould be ſaved.*
6. *That by the law of nature we are taught to do good*

to

to our neighbour; as we would he ſhould doe to us: and that this will in us was faith.

7. *That we ſinne not againſt the law by deſiring any thing if our will conſent not to our deſire and luſt.*

8. *That he which hath not the Spirit, hath not ſin, becauſe he wanteth reaſon, which they called the Holy Ghoſt.*

Now alſo *Luther* wrote to the *King* of *England* by the perſwaſion of *Chriſtiern* the baniſhed King of *Denmark*. This Epiſtle was ſubmiſſive, and is extant in his Epiſtles. He wrote alſo humbly to *George* Duke of *Saxony*: that he would be pleaſed to afford him his favourable reſpect. But the King returned him an harſh anſwere, and objected to him his levity and inconſtancy: and defended *Cardinal Wolſey* againſt *Luthers* writing to him: that hence it appeared, how he hated *Luther*. When *Luther* ſaw the Kings anſwer printed, he was very much grieved at what he had done, and that he had ſo much yeelded to his friends, as to write in ſo humble a ſtrain. The like befell him upon his writing to *Cajetan*, *George* Duke of *Saxony* and *Eraſmus Rotterod.* who by *Luthers* lenity were incenſed rather then pacified. He reſolved never afterward to run into the like errour. *Coclens* and *Eckius* wonderfully alſo inſulted over *Luthers* ſubmiſſiveneſſe. Wherefore *Luther* now printed a booke againſt (as he calledit) the *Ill languaged and contumelious booke of the King of* England.

Tom. 2. Ep. 290. *Luther* writeth to the King of *England*, &c.

An. 1526. In the yeare 1526. *Luther* refuſed *Eraſmus* book, intituled *de ſervo Arbitrio*. The delaying of his anſwer

swer proceeded from the cause certified to * *Amsdorf*: in these words. *I will not answer* Erasmus *till I have done with* Carolostade, *who makes great troubles and stirres in upper Germany.* *Erasmus* provoketh thereby, put forth his *Hyperaspides*, of which book *Luther* thus writeth. *Erasmus that viper being rouzed up will write against me again: what eloquence will that most vain hunter after glory exercise to cast down Luther?* About the same time *Duke George* and the Bishops attempted many wayes to wrong *Luther*, as appeareth by his letter to *Myconius*: saying. *The wicked Papists conspire, and, as* Melanctheus *writeth to me from Iena threaten warre against me. Wherefore see you, that the people admonished hereof, manfully contend by faithfull and continuall prayer to the Lord, that they may be overcome and withheld by the Spirit, and constrained to keepe outward peace. Verily I understand by the writings and speeches of many, that there is very great need of earnest prayer: for Satans plots are a working. Wherefore I intreat you, that you would perswade the people to this most necessary and prevalent work, because they are endangered and exposed to Satans sword and fury encompassing them.* He further saith, That the Sectaries were divided into sixe Sects. *Sixe heads in one yeere are sprung up among the Sacramentarians: tis a strange spirit, which so much differs from it selfe. One sect followed* Carolostade, *that is fallen: a second is that of* Zwinglius, *which is falling: the third is with* Oecolampadius *which will fall: the fourth also which is* Carolostade *is fallen: he thus disposeth of the words. That which is given for you, is my*

* Tom. 2. ep. 270.

Erasm. his *Hyperasp.*

Tom. 2. epist. 314.

Epist. pag. 324.

Sixe Sects of the Sacramentarians.

my body. The fifth is now arising in Silesia, *set forth by* Valentine Crantwald *and* Caspar Schwenkfeld, *who thus invert the words. My body which is given for you, is this, that is, spirituall meat. These grievously vex and molest us with their writings, for they are most obstreperous and full of words, I wish they had my disease of the Stone, they seeme so strong to undergo it. The sixth is that of* Peter Florus *at* Cullen, *which* Melanchon *will deale with: I never saw ought but one letter about it. O how hereprobates* Luther, *I know saith he, that* Luther *is forsaken of the Lord. All these Spirits differing each from other contend with subtile arguments, all of them boast of revelations obtained by prayer and teares, and agree onely in this, that all of them fight each with other for us. This Christ effecteth for us.*

Luther wrote a consolatory letter to *Iohn Husse* of *Breslaw* a Teacher of the Gospel, notwithstanding the scandall raised by the Heretiks, and their fighting against the Articles of our Faith: and in speciall manner he animated him against *Schwenfeld* and *Crantwald*; saying, "You speak the Truth, friend "*Hesse*. Hitherto the combate was about points "not grounded in the Scriptures, as about the "Pope and Purgatory, and the like: Now ye come "to more serious matters, and to the battell alrea-"dy won concerning points in the Scripture. Here "we shall see the Dragon fighting, or rather we "shall combat with him, Michael being our Cap-"tain in these Heavenly fights. When the Dragon "shall pull down the third part of the stars with his "tayle to the earth: then the cause will call for "our

Luthers speech of comfort to *Hessus.*

"our ſtrength in Chriſt. Here you ſhall ſee, what "manner a warriour, and how ſtrong a champion "Satan is, whom yet you have not ſufficiently tri-"ed, or had experience of. *Schwenkfeld* and *Grant-"wald*, which I much lament, are reſerved for theſe "miſchiefes. But the foundation of God ſtandeth "firme, having this ſeale. The Lord knoweth who "are his, let this be our comfort, and in this let us "be confident to prevaile over the gates of Hell.

Beſides other ſtudies of *Luther*, he now expounded *Eccleſiaſtes*: which was not eaſie and plain (as he ſaid) for an Interpreters labour. *There are*, ſaith he, *therein many Hebraiſmes and obſtacles in that tongue, not yet well made known. Yet by the grace of God I* break thorow them. This yeere he wrote a forme of the Maſſe in the *German* tongue: in which he permitted ſome ceremonies, to be uſed or not uſed at mens pleaſures. Among other ſpeeches thus he ſaith. *Yet we retain theſe garments, altars, waxe-candles uſed at the Maſſe, till they grow old, or that it ſeeme good to change them. If it pleaſe any man to do otherwiſe, I permit him to do as he liketh beſt. But in the true Maſſe among Chriſtians unmixt with Papiſts, it is fit that the altar ſhould not remain, but that the Miniſter ſhould turn himſelf to the people: as Chriſt doubtleſſe did, at the firſt celebration of the Lords Supper. But let this alſo await its due time.* He wrote alſo foure conſolatory *Pſalmes* to *Mary* Queen of *Hungary*, upon the miſerable death of her husband King *Ludowick*, who was drowned. He then alſo divulged other Treatiſes, which are mentioned in his works.

Tom. 2. epiſt. 318.

The forme of the *German* Maſſe.

His work at *Jen.* Tom. 3. p. 277.

An. 1527. The *Anabaptists.*

In the 27. yeere the *Anabaptists* broached their new doctrin, about the not baptizing of Infants; and were themselves rebaptised: they also taught communitie of goods. Both *Luther* and *Zwinglius* wrote against them, and the Magistrates punished them in divers places. *Luther* wrote also upon the question, whether souldiers lived in a kinde of life, tending to happinesse? In which discourse he learnedly and godly handled many things concerning warre, and its discipline. He dealt also against the Sacramentarians, as he calleth them, and in his book averreth that Christs word; *This is my body*, yet stand firme. Of the book thus *Luther* writeth to *Spalatinus*. I doubt not, but that I *have throughly moved the Sacramentarians: for though my book be full of words, and not so learned, yet I am perswaded that I have touched them to the quick.* Bucer *hath written most virulent letters against me unto our* Jonas; *already they make a Satan of* Luther: *what suppose you that they will do when they be gauled with that book. But Christ liveth and raigneth. Amen.* He also comforted them of Hall, for the death of *George Winckler* their Pastor, who was slain by conspiracy. He also answered *Iohn Hessus* to the question: *Whether a Christian man may flie in time of Pestilence?* and to an other question, namely. *Whether after the truth of the Gospel is made known, a man may for feare of the tyrants forbeare to administer the Lords Supper in both kinds:* which *Luther* denyed against the *Prischanists.*

Of the military life.

Tom. 2. epist. p. 331.

What strange portent was before his death. See Tom. 2. epist. pag. 337.

About the beginning of the yeere 27. *Luther* fell sudden-

ſuddenly: ſicke of a congealing of bloud about his heart, which almoſt kil'd him: but the drinking of the water of *Carduus Benedictus*, whoſe vertue then was not ſo commonly knowne, he was preſently helped. But he wraſtled with a farre worſe agony afterward on the Sabbath after the viſitation of the bleſſed Virgin. This is recorded by *Iohn. Bugenhagius*, and *Iuſtus Ionas*, who ſaw his affliction. Here he indured not onely a corporall malady, but alſo a ſpirituall tentation, which *Luther* called *a buffeting of Satan*. It ſeemed to him, that *ſwelling ſurges of the ſea in a tempeſt did ſound aloud at his left eare, and againſt the left ſide of his head: yet not within, but without his head, and that ſo violently, that die he muſt except they preſently grew calme. Afterward when it ſeemed to come within his head, he fell downe as one dead: and was ſo cold in each part of his body, that he had remaining neither heat, nor bloud, nor ſence, nor voyce. But when his face was beſprinckled with cold water by* Ionas (*for ſo* Luth. *had bidden*) *he came again to himſelf: and began to pray moſt earneſtly, and to make a confeſſion of his faith, & to ſay, that he was unworthy of Martirdom, which by his proceedings he might ſeemed to run upon.* His will and Teſtament concerning his wife with child and his young ſonne this he made. *Lord God I thank thee that thou wouldeſt have me live a poore and indigent perſon upon Earth, I have neither houſe, nor lands, nor poſſeſſions, nor mony to leave. Thou haſt given me wife and children, them I give back unto thee: Nouriſh, teach, keep them (O thou the father of orphans and Iudge of the widow) as thou haſt done to mee: ſo do unto*

Luther ſickneſſe. 1527.

A worſe ſickneſſe afterward.

Luthers laſt Will.

Luthers recovery.

unto them. But by using daily prayers and continuall fomentations, after that he had sweat thoroughly, the griefe by degrees decreased, so that in the evening of that day, he rose up and supped with his friends: and confessed that his spirituall temptation was farre sorer then his corporall sickness. Hereupon the day following he sayd to *Iustus Ionas*. *I will take speciall notice of the day last past: in which as in a schoole, I was put to the tryall of my progresse. And sate in a most hot sweating house. The Lord bringeth to the graves mouth and fetcheth back againe.* He often makes mention of this tentation in his letters to his friends; and confirmed the faith by receiving absolution from a Minister, and the use of the Sacrament.

Leon Keisar burnt for Religion.

This yeere also he put forth the Story of *Leonard Keisar* his friend, who was burnt for the Gospels sake, at the Command of *William* Duke of *Bavaria*. Of this mans Martyrdome thus *Luther* writes. *I have received the relation concerning* Leonard Keisars *death: as also all his manuscripts from his Vnkles son: which shall shortly be published, God willing. Pray for me, who have been much buffetted by the Angel of Satan; that Christ should not forsake me. O wretch that I am! and so much inferiour to* Leonard: *I am a preacher onely in wordes, in regard of him, so powerfull a preacher by his suffering. Who can make me fit, that not by his Spirit double on me; but by one halfe of it, I may overcome Satan, & put a period to this life. Blessed be God, who among so many monsters hath shewed us unworthy sinners this one glorious spectacle of his grace, that he may not seeme wholly to have forsaken us.*

Tom. 2. pag. 354. b.

Then

Then also by the advise of *Luther* and the Command of *Iohn* the *Elector* was ordained a visitation of the *Churches* in *Saxony*. The chiefe care of this businesse was committed to *Iohn* a *Plaunitz* a noble Knight, to *Ieron Schurfius* a Lawyer, *Asmus Hanbicius* and *Melancthon*. Many matters were hereby discried, which needed speedy redresse: many faults were found, which must necessarily be amended: nor can I easily say: how great was the benefit of this visitation. For faults of many yeeres continuance, were reformed, the Churches saine backe were in many places confirmed, and their safety for time to come was well provided for. This visitation ended *An.* 1528. in which yeere *Luther* put forth the *Institution of Visiters*, and the *large Confession concerning the Lords Supper*, which were added for their direction. There it is that *Luther* thus writeth to *Amsdorf*. *We are visiters, that is Bishops, and we find poverty and scarsity every where. The Lord send forth workmen into his harvest. Amen.* And in another place to *Spalatinus*. *Our visitation goeth on, of what miseries are we eye witnesses? and how often doe we remember you, when we find the like or greater miseries in that harsh natured people of* Voytland. *Let us beseech God to be present with us, and that he would promote this work of his poore Bishops: who is our best and most faithfull Bishop against all the Arts and forces of Satan. Amen.* And again. *In our visitation in the territories of* Wittemberg, *we find as yet all pastors greeing with their people, but the people not so forward for the Word and Sacraments.*

An. 1527. 1528.

* Tom. 2. ep. p. 394.

Ibid. p. 394.

The

Answer to *Zwinglius* and *Oecolampadius.*

The 1. part of the book, called The *Great Confession of the faith concerning the Lords supper*, dealeth with *Zwinglius*, the 2. part with *Oecolampadius*; and blameth both of them. To this *Oecolampadius* and *Zwinglius* replyed at large: and dedicated their books to the *Prince* of *Saxony* and *Landgrave* of *Hessen*. *Bucer* also in the German tongue answered *Luther* in a Dialogue where he maketh *Sebaldus* and *Arbogastus* speakers. These are the last books, which these men wrote against *Luther*.

Bucers Dialogue

Carolostade Epistle to *Pontanus.*

This yeer also *Carolostadius* wrote a letter to *George Pontanus* Chancellour of the Duke of *Saxonie*; in which he layeth down the ground-work of his Tenents concerning the Lords supper. This was answered by *Luthers* Epistle to the same *Pontanus*: *Luther* therein admonisheth *that care must be taken, that no blemish be layd upon the* Electour, *by whose connivence* Carolostade *doth there divulge his own dreams and heresies. Luther* also * wrote to *Carolostadius*, and confuted his Arguments: and in the end of his letter graunteth, *that Christ alone doth give his body: but denieth that thence it followeth that the Minister doth not give it by the Lords command.*

Luthers answer.

* Tom. 4. Ep. Ien.

An. 1529. The greater and lesse Catechisme.

In the beginning of the yeere 1529. *Luther* put forth his greater and lesser *Catechismes* for the good of the under sort of people, and admonished the Pastors and Ministers that they would seriously attend their offices, and teach carefully in the Villages. *That they would preach still the same things about the same points and often presse them upon the people.* Here also *Luther* put forth a book against the Turk

Luthers booke against the Turk.

Turk in the *German* tongue: this he did partly becauſe it was then reported that the Turk was comming upon *Hungary* and *Germany*, which appeared true by his beſieging of *Vienna*: partly becauſe ſome Paſtors endeavoured to perſwade the people, *that warre was not to be waged againſt the Turk*. Yea ſome proceeded to that height of folly, *that they deſired that the* Turk *would come, and lay his yoake upon them*. And when at that time there was held an Aſſembly at *Spire*, where firſt aroſe the *Name of Proteſtants*, and *Luthers* aſſiſtants, whoſe helpe he uſed in tranſlating the Prophets, were ſeperated he himſelfe being ſickly, that he might be in ſome imployment in *Melanchthons* abſenſe, tranſlated the booke of *Wiſdome* which was afterward reviſed by *Melanchthon* and printed.

The aſſembly at *Spire*.

The name of Proteſtants.

In *October* this yeere *Philip Landgrave* of *Heſſen*, with a pious intent called together the Prime Doctors of the *Saxon* and *Helvetick* Churches. Among whom *Luther* beeing ſent for returned this anſwer: *That little good was to be hoped for by that conference: except the adverſe part came thither to yeeld: and that himſelfe could not yeeld: becauſe he was aſſured that he was in the truth*. In this meeting the chiefe heads of Divinity were handled, and concluded of. No one point was with choler contended about: nor did they depart alienated or divided in their affections by any controverſie: as elſewhere * is ſhewed.

Conference at *Marpurg*.

Luther called. Tom. 4. Ien. p. 467.

In the laſt yeere a fame was ſpread of a league made by ſome Popiſh Princes againſt the Duke of *Saxonie* and Landgrave of *Heſſen*: Of this thus *Luther*

* The life of *Oecolampadius* and others.

Tom. 2. Ep. p. 386. Fame of the Popish Princes league. *Luthers* letter about it.

ther writeth to *Wenceslaus Lincus*. "That ungodly "league of wicked Princes, though they deny it, "what stirres hath it caused: but I do interpret the "sleight and poore excuse of Duke *George*, as a con- "fession of the fact. But let them deny, excuse, dis- "semble it: I know, that that league was not a "*Chimera* or a thing of no being: a Monster can- "not be but monstruous and conspicuous enough. "And the world knoweth well, that they with most "pertinacious mindes, deeds, edicts, designes, "have hitherto publiquely attempted, and still do "attempt the like. For they desire that the Gospel "was abolished: this none can deny. But why "write I thus to you? who know this to be un- "doubtedly true. I doe it onely, that you may "know, that we will not trust that wicked crew, "though we offer them peace. The Lord con- "found the Counsels of that * *Morotatas Moores* "bundle of folly, who like *Mosh* dares attempt "more then he can effect: and as ever, so still is "proud above his power. Let us pray against such "men-slayers. Hitherto they have been forborn, "if again they plot any thing, first we will pray to "God, then we will admonish Princes of them, "that they may be destroyed without pitty: see- "ing they be unsatiable bloud-suckers and cannot "be at rest, unlesse they see *Germany* weltring in "her bloud. This letter intercepted and brought to Duke *George* gave occasion of a great disaffecti- on between the Duke and *Luther*: as the letters written from each of them to the other fully mani- fest.

*George Duke of Saxonie.

The letter intercepted.

feſt. For *Luther* printed a *treatiſe of letters privately ſent and intercepted*: and on the other ſide *George* the Duke printed a preface to the Tranſlation of the New Teſtament ſet forth by *Emſer*: This preface was full fraught with gall. *Luther* thus ſaith of it. "I have received your letter, friend *Wenceſlaus*, "by which you certifie me, what Duke *George* hath "adventured to doe. He required the ſame of me "not long agone, and afterward of our Duke: "when he could not prevayle: he hath printed the "coppie of it with an invective againſt me: ſuch is "his notorious folly, rayling fury. They ſay that "there are 8000. books printed: which he tranſ-"ports into all coaſts under his owne ſeale. Thus "ſhall poore *Luther* at length be kept down, and "Duke *George* ſhall triumph moſt gloriouſly. To "the Mart he will ſend them. After I by ſome pri-"vate meanes had got a coppie thereof, I wrote an "anſwere thereunto, which ſhall be divulged at "once with his writing contrary to his expectation. "Perhaps he will burſt with rage, and die like a mi-"ſerable idiot. I could wiſh that theeviſh *Mericion* "had taken it in mine owne hand: I am ſo farre "from fearing that Satan: though I wonder at "*Scheurferus*, that not delivered my letter up to "them, but that he is ſo familiar with my bittereſt "enemies. I intreat you that with your congrega-"tion you would pray againſt that furious home-"cide and bloudy ruffian, as a man poſſeſſed by "more then one Devil, and breathing out nothing "but menaces and ſlaughter: that it would pleaſe

Ep. Tom. 2. p. 389.

New Broiles thereupon.

"Christ to save him, as he did Saint *Paul*; or con-
"found him. For why should this unquiet and mis-
"cheivous vassall of Satan be offensive to heaven
"and earth?

An. 1530. The assembly at *Augst.* and conformitie of Protest.

The remembrance of the thirtieth yeere will never be razed out, while men live on earth: for in this yeere was held that solemne and numerous assembly before the Emperour and the States of the Empire, which was printed and made known to all the nations of Europe. Read the Story* elsewhere. We return to *Luther*. He composed the *seventeen Articles*, before the Divines of *Saxony* took their journey to *Augusta*: In these Articles he omitted scholastick disputes and points unnecessary for the peoples instruction, and comprised the summe of holesome and necessary doctrin for the salvation of mens soules and true pietie. Other Princes and Cities, who embraced the doctrin of *Luther*, commanded their Divines to set downin writing a briefe declaration of the doctrin commonly taught in the Churches of their territories. That these seventeen Articles written by *Luther*, were especially made use of by *Melanchthon* in *writing the Confession*, the *very words and phrases* in most of the Articles retained, and the *order* and *methode* of the Articles much alike, and the Epistle of *Iohn* Elector of *Saxony* dated from *Augusta* to *Luther* before *Cæsars* coming, do witnesse. For *Iohn* Elector of *Saxony* came to *Ausburg* contrary to the opinion and expectation of all men; yea he came thither first of all the Princes, accompanied with *Iohn Frederik*

* *Tom.* 5. *Jer. Germ. Chitr. B.* 13. *Sax. Sleid. b.* 2.

Luther wrote the seventeen Articles.

Luthers Articles followed by *Melanct.*

Joh. Elector of Saxony came first to *Augst.*

derik his ſonne, *Francis Duke* of *Lunenburg* his ſiſters ſonne, *Wolfgang Prince* of *Anhalt* his wives brother, and theſe divines, *Ionas*, *Philip*, *Spalatinus*, and *Iſlebius*. For when he went from *Coburg* he left *Luther in the Caſtle*, becauſe he was baniſhed by the *Pope* and *Emperour*, and was extreamly hated by the Pontificians: yet would that he ſhould remain in that place neere at hand, that more eaſily and ſpeedily he might be conſulted with, for any matter pertaining to Religion. *Luther* abode at *Coburg*.

Luther that he might further the common good, though he was abſent, wrote a book to the Biſhops and other Divines of note in that aſſembly: in which he deciphered, fully, what was the ſtate of the Romane Church under the Popedome, and opened their cruelty, and exhorted them, that they would not now omit the occaſion of curing this ſore. He further ſhewed that the doctrin taught by himſelf was agreeable to that of the Prophets & Apoſtles, & that all deſignes undertaken againſt God would be fruſtrate. *Melanct.* knowing the rage of the Papiſts & *Ceſars* threats was very ſolicitous & troubled thereat, not ſo much for his own, as for the iſſue of theſe matters and poſterities ſake: and gave himſelf almoſt wholly up to griefe, ſighes and teares. *Luther* having notice hereof did often cheere him up and comfort him by his letters. Theſe words are part of one of his epiſtles. "In "private conflicts I am ſomewhat weake, and you "ſtrong: and on the contrary you in publique con- "flicts are ſomewhat weake, I ſtronger. If I may "call *Melanct* care in this aſſembly.

In his book written, *An.* 1529.

"call that a private conflict, which is between me "and Satan, for you are ready to die, if you were "called to it; but feare the disaster of the publique "cause. But I am resolute and secure for the pub-"lique cause, because I am assured that it is just and "true, that it is Gods and Christs; and is not appa-"led with the guilt of sinne, as I a private servant "of God am compelled to trembling and pale-"nesse. For this cause like a secure spectator, and "do not regard the menaces and crueltie of the "Papists. If we fall, Christ the Lord and ruler of "the world falleth with us. And suppose he fall, I "had rather fall with Christ, then stand with *Cæsar*. "Nor do you alone strive to hold up Gods cause, I "constantly stand to you with my sighes & prayers, "I wish I might also with my bodily presence. For "the cause is mine; rather I say mine then all yours: "and attempted by me not out of any rash humour, "or desire either of glory or gain: which thing the "Spirit witnesseth to my conscience: and the mat-"ter it self hath already plainly shewed, and will "more and more shew it even to the end. Where-"fore I entreat you for Christs sake not to forget "Gods promises and the divine comforts, where "tis said. *Cast thy care upon the Lord: have thine eyes fixt on the Lord, play the man, let thine heart be comforted.* "The booke of the *Psalmes* and the "Gospels are full of the like speeches. *Be of good comfort I have overcome the world.* "If Christ be the "Conquerour of the world, why should we feare "it, as if it would overcome us. A man could finde

Psal. 55.
Psal. 27.
Joh. 16.

in

"in his heart to fetch such a sentence upon his "knees from Rome, or Jerusalem. And in the same "Epistle, you would determine of these affinesses "according to your Philosophy by reason, that is, "*cum ratione insanire*, run wild with humane over-"care: and kill your self: nor do ye see that this "matter is beyond your reach and providence: "and I pray Christ to keep it, that it come not into "your hand and counsell, which is a thing vehe-"mently defired by you. For then publikely and "apparantly, and suddenly we shall perish. And in "another Epistle. Grace and peace in Christ. In "Christ I say, not in the world, Amen. Concern-"ing your apologie for your silence, I will speake "elsewhere. I extreamely dislike your excessive "cares with which you say you are consumed. That "these raigne so much in your heart, is not from "the greatnesse of the cause, but the greatnesse of "your incredulitie. For there was greater cause of "this in *Iohn Hus* his time then in ours. Then again "suppose there be great cause, the Agent and chief "mover in it is of great power; for it is not our "cause. Why then do you continually and without "ceasing macerate your self? If the cause be faul-"tie, let us revoke it, and flie back; if it be good: "why do we make God a lyer? who hath made us "so great promises, and bids us to be of a quiet "and contented mindes: saying, *Cast thy care upon the Lord. The Lord is neere unto all them, who being of a troubled heart call upon him.* "Speaketh God these "things into the wind, or casts he these pearles to bruits?

"bruits? I am often troubled, but not perpetually.
"Your Philoſophy and not your Divinity doth
"thus vexe you, the ſame befalleth your *Ioachim*.
"As if it were poſſible that you ſhould effect any
"thing with this unprofitable care. I pray you, tell
"me, what can the Divell doe more then kill us?
"I beſeech you, that ſeeing in all other matters
"you are a good ſouldier, you would wraſtle with
"your ſelfe as being your owne greateſt enemie,
"by providing ſuch ſtore of Armour for Satan a-
"gainſt your ſelfe. Chriſt once died for ſin: but
"for Juſtice and truth he ſhall not die, but live and
"raigne. If this be true, what feare is there for
"the truth, if he raigne? But it will be caſt
"downe by the wrath of God, let us be caſt
"downe with it; but let it not bee done by
"our ſelves. He who is become our father, will
"be the father of our children. I pray for you ear-
"neſtly, and I grieve that you make my prayers,
"the moſt violent ſucking-leech of cares, to be
"fruitleſſe. I truly as concerning the cauſe (whe-
"ther it proceed from ſtupidity in me or from the
"Spirit, Chriſt knoweth) am not troubled much,
"yea I have a better hope, then ever I expected:
"God is able to raiſe the dead: He is powerfull al-
"ſo to maintaine his owne cauſe now ready to fall,
"yea to raiſe it againe, were it fallen, and to ad-
"vance it, if it ſubſiſt: If we be not worthy, let it
"be done by others. For if we be not ſuſtained by
"his promiſes, who, I pray you are there in the
"world, to whom they doe belong? But more an-

"other

"nother time: so that it be not to carry water into "the Sea. Christ with his spirit comfort, teach and "strengthen us all. Amen. If I perceive that the "cause goeth not well with you, or be indangered, "I shall not containe my selfe, but shall come with "speed unto you, that I may see the gastly Jawes "of Satans teeth, as the Scripture calleth them. From our wilderneſſe. *Ian.* 25 *An.* 1530.

Luthers desire to come to the Assembly. *Apoc.* 9. 8.

After this the Confession written by *Melanchthon* according to *Luthers* direction and advise, was exhibited in the *Latine* and *German* tongues in *Cæsars* palace, *Iun.* 25. at 2. a clock in the afternoone: and was read by the Chancellor of *Saxony* before *Charls* the fifth, *Ferdinando* and all the Electors & Princes being assessors, & that with so shrill & loud a voice, that not onely in that large hall, but also in the Court beneath and in the places adioyning it was well heard. They who subscribed to this Confession were *Iohn* Duke of *Saxony*, *George* Marqueſſe of *Brandenburgh*, *Erneſt* and *Francis* brothers, Dukes of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburgh*, *Philip* Landgrave of *Haſſia*, *Wolfgang* Prince of *Anhalt*, and two Cities of the Empire, *Norinberg* and *Reutling*. After it was read, the Princes judgement was threefold. First, Some thought fit that the Decree of *Wormes* should be prested, and the refractary compelled to it. Secondly, Others would have had the Confession examined by learned and pious men, and then to be delivered to *Cæsar*. Thirdly, Some desired that the Papists should exhibite a confutation of it to the Protestants: and that the whole cause should be

The Protestants Confession.

Who subscribed to it.

It was commanded the Papist to confute it if they could.

left to *Cæsars* judgement: To this last most of the Princes agreed. Thereupon the Pontifician Divines (of whom *John Faber* and *Eckius* were chief) were injoyned to prepare their confutation. They wrote many things bitterly against the Protestants, and rather multiplied revilings then arguments. When therefore they were bid to new mould their writings, the publication of the Pontifician refutation was deferred seven weekes from the exhibiting of the Confession.

Melanthon & *Luthers* letter each to other.

In the mean space *Luther* and *Melanthon* conferred by their letters concerning many points controverted, and discussed, what might with a good conscience be yeelded to their adversaries, especially concerning *humane traditions, and matters devised by men in Gods worship*. *Luther* also by many Epistles gravely written, and by exhortations full of spirit and life (which are indeed the treasures of all wholesome and powerfull comfort) confirmed the hearts of the Prince *Elector*, and of *Pontanus* his Chancellour, and their Collegues in the prosecution of their attempts for the common safety and peace [illegible] of the Church and State, and posterity, and for curing the apparent wounds thereof, & preventing the distractions of the Church, & the confusion of Opinions. He sent also to *Albertus* of *Mentz* the Cardinal in the time of the Assemblies sitting, a printed Epistle. He was a man of chiefe authority amongst the rest; wherefore *Luther* endeavoured to perswade him, that seeing there was small hope to setle a concord in religion, he would

Luthers Exhortaion.

Luther writeth to *Albertus* Cardinal.

obtaine

obtaine of the *Emperour* at leaſt a graunt of Political peace. At the ſame time *Eraſmus* wrote a letter of the ſame argument to *Campegius*.

The refutation of the Confeſſion, read.

At length the *Refutation of the Proteſtants Confeſſion* was new dreſſed and refined, and on the third day of *Auguſt*, was in *Cæſars* Palace publiquely read before the States of the Empire. The Emperour profeſſed *that he would perſiſt in his opinion, and requeſted the Duke of Saxony, and ſuch as joyned with him, to give an aſſent.* But, when as they could hardly obtain a copie of the confutation, and that with theſe conditions, that it ſhould not be publiſhed, nor tranſcribed, nor any reply made thereunto, and could not prevaile to have theſe conditions omitted; the *Archbiſhop of Mentz*, and his brother the *Marqueſſe of Brandenburgh*, and *Henry of Brunſwick*, requeſted of the Emperour that he would give them leave to take a friendly courſe for the compoſing the controverſie. When *Cæſar* had yeelded thereunto, there were of each partie, ſeven at firſt, and then ſecondly, three choſen out of each ſeven, who were to take a courſe for ſetling of concord. Here when the *Saxon* partie ſeemed to yeeld too farre to the Pontifician, *Luther* wrote thus to *Melanthon*. *Concerning obedience to be performed to the Biſhops, as in juriſdiction and the common ceremonies, I pray you have a care, look to your ſelf, and give no more then you have, leſt ye ſhould be compelled again to a ſharper and more dangerous warre for the defence of the Goſpel. I know that you always except the Goſpel in theſe Articles: but I feare leſt afterward they ſhould accuſe*

The copie of it hard to be got.

Arbiters of the cauſe.

Luthers admonition to *Melanthon*.

cuse us of breach of our covenant, and unconstancy, if we observe not what they please. For they will take our graunts in the large, larger, largest sense: and hold their own strictly, more strictly, and as strictly as they can. In briefe, I wholly dislike this agitation for concord in doctrin, as being a thing utterly impossible, unlesse the Pope will abolish his Popedome. Concerning the Confutation, this should have been added, that it was a very cold one. Of it thus Luther *wrote to* Melancthon. *Grace and peace in Christ the Lord over his enemies. I thanke God, who permitted our Adversaries to devise so fond a confutation. Christ is come and reigneth. Let the devils, if they will, turn Monks and Nunnes: Nor doth any shape better become them, then that in which they have hitherto set forth themselves to be adored by the world.* — Then a little after this: *Did not I foretell you, that you troubled your self in vain about traditions, because that point exceedeth very much the capacitie of Sophisters? There hath ever been disputation about laws amongst the wisest men: and truly it requireth an Apostolicall abilitie to judge purely and surely thereof, for there is no Author extant, except* Paul *alone, who hath written fully and perfectly of this matter. Because it is the death of all humane reason to judge the law: the spirit in this case being the onely Iudge. What then can Sophisters here performe, whose reason is blinded? Well, we have done our part, and well satisfied them. Now is the time of working together with the Lord, whom I beseech to direct and preserve us. Amen.*

In that loving course for composing the differences by the Arbitratours, when the point of invocation

vocation of Saints was handled, and *Eckius* produced *Iacobs* ſpeech, *Let my name be called upon thoſe children: Melanchthon* firſt anſwered, and then *Brentius* ſaid, *that there was nothing extant in all the Scripture of the invocation of Saints.* Hereupon *Cocleus*, that he might ſtep in as patrone to the Cauſe, did thus excuſe the matter. *That in the old Teſtament the Saints of God were not prayed unto: becauſe they were then in Limbo, and not in Heaven.* Here *Iohn Duke* of *Saxony* concluded and ſaid to *Eckius. Behold O* Eckius, *the ſpeech by you brought out of the old Teſtament notoriouſly defended.* The Confeſſion of our partie, which Cæſar, *Ferdinandus* his brother, the Princes of *Bavaria*, and ſome Biſhops attentively liſtened unto, and the other partie could not endure, was tranſlated into *Italian* (for the Pope, who was not very well skilled in *Latine*) and into the *Engliſh, Spaniſh, French, Boemian, Vngarian* tongues.

The Confeſſion of the Proteſtants, tranſlated into divers tongues.

The iſſue of all came to this, that though the Proteſtants did deſire peace of Cæſar, and ſpace farther to deliberate of the matter, they could not obtain their deſire. *The Confeſſion it ſelf was rejected, and all who aſſented to it, unleſſe they ſuffered all matters to run in their old Tenour, were brought into hazard of their lives and States: there were ſome alſo appointed to execute Cæſars decree.* Whereas therefore it was daily exſpected, that the Proteſtants ſhould be warred againſt by the Pontificians: *Luther* ſoon after the Aſſembly with a noble and Heroik ſpirit ſet forth a book to the *Germans*, whoſe title was * *Warnung an ſeine liebe deutſchen.* Wherein he exhorted

The iſſue of matters in this aſſembly.

* *Luthers* admonition *ad Germanos.*

horted them to embrace peace, and ſhewed that they ought not to obey a wicked Edict, and further by armes the perſecution of the true doctrin of the Goſpel, and harmeleſſe Princes and Churches: and fight for Idols and other abominations of the Papiſts. Yet he did not counſell the Proteſtant ſide to take up armes; before the Pontifician faction ſhould in the Emperours name invade them with warre: But *if they ſhould reſiſt, and defend themſelves with force of Armes when they were ſet upon, he excuſed them from being traduced and condemned as ſeditious perſons: and ſhewed that they muſt be conceived to ſtand onely upon their own and their peoples defence.*

Luther ſtudies in the wildernesſe at *Coburgh.*

Before we leave the wilderneſſe of *Coburg*, and come thence with *Luther*: obſerve firſt, what books he there wrote; Beſides ſome mentioned before, of the reſt he thus writeth to *Melanchthon*. *Though I have been troubled with wearineſſe of the ſtake, and head ache, and have laid aſide* Ezekiel, *yet do I in the meane time tranſlate the ſmall Prophets: and in one week more, I hope, ſhall finiſh them, by Gods help. For now onely* Haggai *and* Malachi *remain undone.* I buſie my ſelf herein rather for the comfort I reap by them, then that I am able to undergo the pains. *Secondly know the fervency of his prayers in this wilderneſſe: of which* Vitus Theodorus, *who accompanied him at* Coburg, *thus wrote to* Melanchthon. *No day paſſeth, in which* Luther *ſpendeth not three houres at the leaſt, and they are the houres moſt fit for ſtudie, in Prayer. Once it fell out, that I heard him praying. Good God! what a ſpirit, what a confidence was in his very*

Luthers ardent prayers.

very expreſsions? with ſuch reverence he ſueth for any thing, as one begging of God; and yet with ſuch hope and aſſurance, as if he ſpake with a loving father or friend. I know, ſaith he, that thou art a father and our God: I know therefore aſſuredly, that thou wilt deſtroy the perſecuters of thy children. If ſo be thou pleaſe not ſo to doe, thy danger will be joyned with ours: this buſineſſe is wholly thine: we adventured not on it, but were compelled thereunto. Wherefore thou wilt defend us. When I heard him praying in this manner with a cleare voyce as I ſtood a farre off, my mind alſo was inflamed with a ſingular kind of ardency: becauſe I obſerved how paſſionately, how gravely, how reverently, he in his prayer ſpake of God, and urged Gods promiſes out of the Pſalmes, as one aſſured, that what he asked, ſhould come to paſſe. I doubt not therefore, but that his prayers will much advance and further the deſperate cauſe treated of at the Aſſembly. When in that aſſembly the chiefe and almoſt the ſole diſſention between *Luther* and the *Proteſtants* was about *the Lords ſupper*: this liked the Papiſts, but grieved the Poteſtants. *Bucer* therfore by the conſent of the Duke of *Saxony* and his Magiſtrates conſent, went from *Auſpurg* to *Coburg* to ſee what agreement could be made betweene him and *Luther*: Nor did he receive a croſſe anſwer, but diverſly the buſineſſe was hindred. Thither alſo came *Vrbanus Regius* * for to conſult with *Luther*.

Bucer goeth to *Luther*.

* See *Regius* his life.

An. 1531. *Luther* mildly wrote an Interpretation of *Cæſars* Edict, not againſt the Emperour, but againſt the Princes and Biſhops who were the chiefe inſtruments

An. 1531. An interpretation of *Cæſars* edict.

instruments of the Civill broyles. In this he defended diverse chiefe heades of Christian Religion: As the *Eucharist in both kindes*; that *the Church might erre*; *the Masse* and *free will* he disallowed, and shewed that we are *justified by faith*, not by workes. Of this point observe his remarkable profession. *I Martin Luther an unworthy preacher of the Gospel of our Lord Iesus Christ thus professe and beleeve: That faith alone without respect to our good workes doth justify us before God: and that this Article cannot be overthrown by the Roman Emperour, or the Turk, or the Tartarian, or the Persian; nor by the Pope, or all his Cardinals, Bishops, Sacrificers, Monks, Nunnes, Kings, Princes, Potentates of the world, and all the Devils. This Article, will they nill they, will stand: Hell gates cannot prevayle against it. The spirit of God doth dictate this unto me, this is the true Gospel. For thus the Article in the mouth of all Christian children hath it. I beleeve in Iesus Christ crucified and dead. Now no man died for our sinnes but Iesus Christ the sonne of God, the one and onely sonne of God: I say it again & again, Iesus the one and onely son of God redeemed us from our sinnes. This is most surely grounded & undoubted Doctrin: this the whole scripture crieth out aloud, though the devils & all the world storme and burst with anger at it. And if he alone take away the sinnes of the world, we verily cannot doe it with our workes: and it is impossible that I can lay hold on Christ otherwise then by faith: he is never apprehended by my good workes. And seeing faith alone layeth hold on our Redeemer, and not our workes the concomitants of our faith, it abideth undoubted truth, that faith alone*

An exelent Protestation of *M. Luther.*

before

before our works, or without our works considered, doth this, which is nothing else, but to be justified, but to be redeemed from our sinnes. Then good works follow our faith, as the effects *and* fruits *thereof. This doctrin I teach: and this the Spirit of God, and the whole Christian Church delivereth for truth: In this I will persist, Amen.*

With these two writings, The *Admonition to the Germans*, and *The interpretation of Cæsars Edict*, *Luther* madded the nest of the Popish Hornets: who thereupon put forth a book against him; but without any mans name to it. *Luther* sharply answered this book, and gravely acquitted himself of the crimes objected against him, that is, *That he denyed the yeelding obedience to Cæsar: that he himself was a Trumpet for rebellion and sedition: that all things written by him concerning the designes of the Pope were figments, and lies.* But he proved them to be true by many remarkable sayings and deeds of the Pontificians: which are contained in * *his German writings*, and other books by him set out this yeere.

In the book *Weber den Wrucht.* &c.

* Tom. 5. of his works at *Ien.* p. 304, &c.

In the yeere 32. by Gods goodnesse and the intercession of the Archbish. of *Mentz*, and the Elector *Palatine*, the Emperour [a] granted Peace to the Protestant Churches, upon some certain conditions, propounded to the Duke of *Saxony* especially. Which that he should most willingly embrace, *Luther* by his [b] letter seriously perswaded the then present Elector, and his sonne *Frederik*, who soone after succeeded his father. For this very yeere the 16 day of *August*, that godly Duke, a most constant

An. 1532.

[a] First peace to the Protestants.

[b] *Sleid.* B. 8. p. 205.

confeſſour of the Evangelicall truth departed this life. For the perpetuating of whoſe memory, *Luther* made two funerall Sermons, and *Melanchthon* a funerall oration at his buriall, which expreſſed the Idea or Character of a good Prince.

An. 1533. *Luther* comforted the *Oſchatz*.

In the yeere 1533. *Luther* comforted the *Citizens of Oſchatz* by his letter, who had been turned out for the confeſſion of the Goſpel; In his letter he ſaith: *The Devil is the Hoſt, and the World is his Inne: ſo that where ever you come, you ſhall be ſure to find this ugly Hoſte.* He anſwered alſo the *Elector* of *Saxony* to this queſtion: *How farre it is lawfull to take up armes in our own defence?* Eſpecially, now there was a great controverſie betweene *Luther* and *George Duke* of *Saxony*, who of old hated moſt vehemently *Luther* and his doctrin. Therefore that the Proteſtant partie might not be inlarged by his peoples embracing it, *he bound them all by oath not to receive* Luthers *doctrin*. He alſo provided that the Citizens of *Leipſick*, who coming to Confeſſion after the Papiſts manner, and then received the Sacrament, ſhould have a ticket given them, which afterward they ſhould redeliver to the Senate. About ſeventie were found without tickets. For theſe conſulted with *Luther* what they ſhould do? *Luther* anſwered; *That they ſhould do nothing contrary to their conſciences, as men which firmely beleeved that they ſhould receive the Sacrament in both kinds; and that they ſhould undergo any extreamitie.* In the Epiſtle are theſe words. *Seeing now Duke* George *dareth undertake to dive into the ſecrets of mens conſciences he is worthy*

A controverſie with *George* Duke of *Saxony*.

worthy to be deceived, because he will be the Devils Apostle. Hereupon Duke *George* wrote to the Elector of *Saxony* his cousen German; and accused *Luther* both of giving him base language, and also of stirring up the people under his command to rebellion. The *Elector* wrote this to *Luther*, and told him that unlesse he can cleare himself, he must receive condigne punishment. Upon this occasion *Luther* refuted this accusation: and denyed, "That "he ever counselled them to resist their Prince: "but that patiently they would endure their ba-"nishment: And that he was so farre from infrin-"ging the authoritie of the Magistrate, that no "man did more stoutly confirme it, or more fully "declare it: And that *George* the Duke was called "the Devils Angel for the Subjects sake; because "they should not thinke, that the Edicts were a law-"full Magistrates, but the devils. He joyned there-unto an epistle to them of *Leipsick*, to comfort them "in their banishment, and to counsell them cheer-"fully to undergo their present calamitie, and to "give God thanks for giving them courage & con-"stancy. He told them, that this rejoycing of their "adversaries was neither sound nor lasting: and "that it would perish sooner then any man thought: "and that all attempts of the enemies of the Go-"spel were hitherto frustrate, & by Gods singular "favour fall to the ground. He wrote also a briefe Apologie: in which he cleareth himself of these crimes objected against him: Namely, that he was a *lyer*, a *breaker of his promise*, an *Apostate*. Here *denying*

George the Duke called the Devils Angel.

Luther comforts the banished Citizens of *Leipsick*.

Luthers briefe Apologie.

nying the former, he yeelded himſelf to be an Apoſtate or revolter, but a bleſſed and holy one, who had not kept his promiſe made to the Devil: and that he was no other revolter then a Mammeluke, who turneth Chriſtian, or a Magician, who renouncing his covenant made with the Devil, betaketh himſelf to Chriſt. To theſe paſſages he added divers things concerning Monkery. And again in a new Treatiſe he oppugned *private Maſſe*, and *their conſecration of Prieſts*. In this Treatiſe he related *his Diſputation with the Devil:* which the Papiſts & Jeſuits diverſly play upon. The truth of that matter, he in this book unfoldeth, as being the beſt Expoſitour of his own meaning. He ſent alſo a letter to the Senate and people of *Frankford*, in which he exhorted them to take heed of *Zwinglius doctrin*, and inſtructed them about the Confeſſion.

Of the diſpute with the Devil.

A letter to *Frankford.*

An. 1534. *Petrus Paulus Vergerius.*

In the yeere 1534. the *Elector* of *Saxony* joyned in pacification with King *Ferdinando*. This highly grieved *Petr. Paulus Vergerius*, ſo that in the name of *Pope Clement* he expoſtulated the matter with *Ferdinando*. This yeere *Luther* ſpent in preaching, writing Treatiſes, and Commenting. And this yeere the *German Bible* tranſlated by him, and brought into one body, was firſt printed, as the old priviledge dated at *Bibliopolis* under the Electors hands ſheweth.

An. 1535. *P. Vergerius* returneth into *Germany.*

In the 1535. yeer, this Bible was publiſhed. Then the fancies of the Anabaptiſts began to appeare in *Weſtphalia*, and made a very great combuſtion. This yeere *P. Paul. Vergerius* was ſent back by the Pope into *Germany*. He ſpake to the *Duke* of *Saxony* about the

the holding a *Councel* at *Mantua*. He alſo met with *Luther*, and dealt with him about matters of Religion; Then *Luther* wrote many Sermons and Epiſtles, and a book in a popular way about prayer, and a Preface to *Vrbanus Rhegius* book againſt the Monaſterians, New *Valentinians*, and *Donatiſts*. And when the Pope had appointed the Councel at *Mantua*, *Luther* wrote certain aſſeverations and *Theſes* againſt the *Conſtantian* (as he call'd it the Obſtantian) Councell. He ſent alſo a conſolatory writing to the Chriſtians of *Mittweid* expulſed for the Goſpels ſake: and a letter to the *Archbiſhop of Mentz*, the laſt he calleth it, yet he wrote many after it. This yeere *Luther* began publiquely to preach on *Geneſis*, which taske he ended (as himſelf was wont to ominate) with his life, ſix yeers after.

Luthers labours.

Councel at *Mantua*.

An. 1536. Concord between *Luther* and *Bucer*, &c.

In *Bucers* life.

In the yeer 36. the *forme of the Concord* between *Luther* and *Bucer*, and other Doctors in the Churches of upper *Germany* was written by *Melanchthon* at *Wittenberg*; And publiſhed in the end of *May*. This elſewhere we ſpake of, and told who ſubſcribed therunto. This yeer *Philip Duke* of *Pomerania* at *Torgaw* married *Mary* daughter of *Iohn Elect.* of *Saxony*, and of *Marg.* of *Anhalt*. *Luther* was at the marriage, and prayed for Gods Bleſſing upon the new married couple. When all the rites were performed, Duke *Philip* reached out his hand to *Luther*: at this *Luther* ſtood a while ſilent, and ſtill held his hand; and with a loud voice ſaid. *The Lord God be with you: and keep your poſteritie from failing*. Now when as *Barnimus* the Vnkle of *Philip* had no male chil-

dren, *Philips* wife for foure yeeres was barren: ſo that all the Male ſtocke of the Duke of *Pomerania* was likely to be ere long extinct: at length, by Gods bleſſing, according to the prayer of *Luther*, he had ſeven ſonnes by this wife: and wonderfully enlarged that noble Family.

The Aſſembly at *Smalcald*.

In *February* the yeere following the Duke *Elector* of *Saxony* with the *Confederate Princes* and *Cities*, and their Divines held an Aſſembly at *Smalcald* for matters of Religion: that the Princes might deliberate about calling the Councel to *Mantua*: and the Divines conferre about matters of doctrine. Hither therefore *Luther* and *Melanthon* were called, *Luther* wrote Articles concerning the chiefe controverted heads of Chriſtian doctrine. Theſe the other Divines did approve, and theſe were to be exhibited in the Councel of *Mantua* (if ever it were held) and put up in the name of the *Saxon* and neere thereunto adjoyning Churches. Commonly they are called the *Smalcaldick* Articles. Theſe were joyned to the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion, and the Apologie, and *Luthers* Catechiſmes.

Luthers articles there approved and to be exhibited to the Councel.

Luther ſick of the ſtone.

At this meeting *Luther* fell ſick of a grievous diſeaſe, ſo that there was no hope of his life. He was pained of the ſtone, and obſtruction in the bladder eleven dayes. Here he, though moſt of his friends diſliked and reaſoned againſt it, would be carried thence; the event proved his reſolution good. *George Sturk* the Phyſitian being ſent for from *Erphord* went along with him. *Luther* as he was carried along, made his will: *in which he bequeathed his deteſtation*

teſtation of Popery to his friends and the Paſtors: as before in the houſe of *Spalatinus* in the yeere 1530. where he made this Verſe.

Peſtis eram vivus, moriens ero mors tua Papa.

I living, ſtopt *Romes* breath,
And Dead, will be *Romes* Death.

But the night after his departure thence he began to be ſomewhat better. At *Tambach* the paſſages of his urine opened, ſo that he voyded it in great abundance: and called that Village the place of his happineſſe. This recovery of *Luther* was cauſe of great joy to many godly men, even to all who loved *Luther*, eſpecially to *Melanchon*: who ſignified the ſame to *Luther* in theſe words by his letter. *I heartily thanke the God of all mercy and our Lord Ieſus Chriſt our high Prieſt interceding for us, and compaſſionating our infirmities, for your recovery from your dangerous diſeaſe. I rejoyce at my heart both for your and the Churches ſake, that you enjoy your health againe, and the rather becauſe herein we behold the apparent love & mercy of God to his Church. Your letter expreſsing your recovery put cheerfulneſſe into the countenances of the Princes and all good men: they all acknowledg that the light of the Goſpel hath been in theſe dayes made known to the world by your Miniſtry, and know that they are beholding to you for it: and foreſee what a loſſe it would be to the Church if they ſhould loſe you. Therefore with joynt votes they pray that long you may live among us, and thanke God, who hath reſtored you from death to life. I hope God accepted of this their joy and thanks. And I pray God for Chriſts ſake to make you perfectly ſound and healthfull*

Luthers recovery.

The joy at his recovery ſhewed by *Melanthons* Letter.

healthfull. ----*Here we have not yet ended our deliberation about giving* Cæsars messenger *an answer to his harsh dispute against our former answer. So that neither yet is any answer given to the* Pope. *The* Duke *of* Wittenberg *commendeth your noble courage, who durst in such a disease travel, and fly from this cave. He mindeth to follow your example: for having been eight dayes sicke he resolveth to be gone to morrow. Christ graunt, that I may shortly see you in good health. I was much grieved for you, & that the more, because being absent, I could not perform me any friendly office to you. I was perplexed at some physical errours, by which your disease was augmented: so that no man can expresse how extreamity of griefe wrought upon me. Nor am I yet freed from all griefe. If your malady was onely a difficulty of urine from some stopping, I hope all danger is past. But if it be from the bignesse of any stone, I trust that the danger will be much the lesse, and that you have a prudent and faithfull Physitian, whom I pray God to direct and assist.* From *Smalcald.* 1537.

An. 1537. Here the Pope rejourned the meeting of the Synod from the first of *November* to the first of *May* the yeere following: and designed the place for it to be *Vincentia* a large and renowned City of the *Venetians*, and sent thither some of the Cardinals to begin the Councel. He pretended a serious consultation for the purging the *Augean Stable*: and now commended the same busines to some choise men, but omitted the propounding of the oath to them, and would that no man should know the intent of this reformation. Yet was it not long hid:

and

and as ſoone as it was taken notice of in *Germany*, *Luther* in the vulgar tongue, and *Iohn Sturmius* in Latine wrote to the Reformers an anſwer. *Luthers* booke by a picture in the frontiſpice ſhewed its argument. For the Pope was pictured ſitting on a high throne with ſome Cardinals ſtanding round; who with Fox tails on the end of long poles, as with bruſhes cleanſed all parts above and beneath. At length all that reformation came to nothing, by whoſe policy and tricks it is well enough knowne. *Luther* now divulged one of the chiefe Articles of the Papiſts belief (namely, concerning *Conſtantines donation*) with annotations confuting it, for the Pontificians ſake. He publiſhed alſo ſome *Epiſtles of Iohn Hus*, which were ſent to the *Bohemians* in the priſon at *Conſtance*, *An.* 1516. and wrote a preface to the Spiritualty, who would be preſent at the Councel. He ſent alſo to the Pope, Cardinals and Prelates, the Legend concerning *Iohn Chryſoſtome* with a preface and annotations. He ſent alſo an Epiſtle written in a way of friendly compliance to them of the Evangelical league, concerning the Concord of the *Helvetians*, and therein ſhewed his conſent, and what was his judgement concerning the Supper of the Lord.

Luthers booke of the Popes reformation.

The Popes reformation turned to ſmoake.

The Legend of *Iohn Chryſoſtom*.

Luther of the *Helvetians*.

Here, as if the Church had not contentions enow already, the new Sect of the *Antinomians* ſtart up. Their chief ring-leader was *Iohn Agricola* of *Iſleben*, who formerly had been familiarily acquainted with *Luther*. They held *that repentance was not to be taught from the decalogue, and they reaſoned againſt them, who*

The ſect of the *Antinomians*.

taught that the Gospel was not to be taught to any, but to such as were humbled by the Law. And they themselves taught, that whatsoever a mans life was, though impure, yet he was justified, so that he beleeved the Gospel. Thus *Luther* was put to a new paines, and at large confuted them. And shewed that the Law was not given, that we might be justified by it, but to shew us our sinnes, and to terrifie our consciences. Therefore the Law was first to be taught, and the Gospel afterward, which sheweth the Mediator. *Iohn Agricola* being better instructed by *Luther* acknowledged his errour, and revoked it under his owne hand in publique.

An. 1538. *Sim. Lemnius* his libel.

About this time *An.* 1538. neere Whitsontide *Melanchon* being *Rector* of the University the summer halfe yeere, one *Sim. Lemnius* put forth a booke of *Epigrams*: by which some thought the fame of diverse men and women was blemished. *Luther* hereupon shewed himselfe to be, as ever, a detester of such notorious libels, and wrote an Epistle to the Church of *Wittenberg* in which he inveighed against the Author of the libell, and shewed how he disliked the course of this base Poet. But the Author escaped, and afterward by most impudent lying set forth so filthy and impure writings, that all good people judged, that he was not to be pardoned for his former folly: and that what evill soever befell him, it was farre lesse then his wickednesse and madnesse deserved.

Sleid. b. 12. Camerarius in Melanthons life.

This yeere also were put forth the three Oecomenicall Creeds with *Luthers* annotations and exposition.

In

In the yeere 1539. were agitated deliberations with much care and difficultie concerning the obtaining peace of the Emperour: becauſe many feared an attempt unjuſtly to oppreſſe the State. *Luther* therefore together with his Collegues of *Wittenberg*, compoſed and put forth a Treatiſe concerning *a Defence lawfull, approved, and not contrary to Gods will.* And becauſe now the *name of the Councell and Church* were in every mans mouth, *Luther* put forth *a book* in their mother tongue concerning both of them. In the Preface whereof he ſaith, that the Pope by calling a Councell doth play with the Church of Chriſt, as they do with a Dog, who offer him a cruſt of bread on the point of a knife, and when the Dog taketh it, knock him on the noſe with the handle thereof, to make ſuch as ſee it laugh. *Luther* in that booke declared the *authoritie of the Scriptures.* And then treats of the *councell Apoſtolicall*, of the *Nicene, Conſtantinopolitan, Epheſine, Carthaginian Councels.* And ſheweth *what a Councell is*, and *which to be called true*, what are the *ſignes and workes thereof*: and *that Chriſtian Schooles are perpetuall Councels*; and therefore that they are with great care to be maintained, as much advancing the good of the *Eccleſiaſticall, Politicall, Oeconomicall Hierarchy* on earth.

An. 1539.

Of lawfull defence.

Of the name of Councels and the Church.

About the Concluſion of the *Smalcald Aſſembly*, April 24. *George Duke* of *Saxony* died childleſſe: and declared *Henry* his brother with his ſons *Maurice* and *Auguſtus* his heires upon condition, *that they ſhould not alter the Religion*: which if they ſhould attempt,

George Duke of *Saxony* dyeth. *Henry* ſucceeds.

tempt, he bequeathes his whole territories to King Ferdinando, *to have and hold the same, till the condition was observed.* But whileſt the Embaſſadours treat with *Henry* about the ſame, making glorious *propoſitions* to him, and promiſing him mountaines of gold: He reſolutely denyed to do it: *George* died before the Embaſſadours could returne; ſo that *George* otherwiſe then he intended, held *Henry* for his heire. Hereupon in *Miſnia* was preſently made ſuch an alteration, that whereas in Eaſter Holidaies the Papiſticall Prieſts preached, at Whitſontide *Luther* * and his Schollers had free poſſeſſion of the Pulpits. So *Luther* here began Reformation, others after him added perfection thereunto.

Proteſtancy in *Miſnia.*

* Now fiftie yeeres old.

In the yeere 1540. it was decreed that the Divines ſhould meet at *Hagenaw* on the *Rhine*, and peaceably conferre about the Doctrin of controverted points. *Melanchthon* journying thither, fell into a grievous diſeaſe at *Vinaria*: ſo that there he ſtayd, and made his Will, and prepared himſelf for death. Hither *Luther* and *Crociger*, at the Electors inſtance, took their journey both by night and day. Here *Luther* finding *Melanchthon* pittyfully conſumed with the diſeaſe, weeping and ſighing cried. *How excellent and uſefull an inſtrument of the Church do we find miſerably ſick and almoſt dead.* And when he had ſalured him, *He fell down on his knees, and heartily prayed for him: and then performed what friendly offices he could by comforting, admoniſhing, and ſometimes chiding the ſick man.* Of this *Melanchthon* thus wrote to *Camerarius*. *I cannot by words expreſſe, what*

An. 1540. The conference at *Hagenaw.*

Melanchthon ſick in his journey.

Luther prayeth for *Melanchthon*, &c.

what paines I have undergone, into which ſometimes I have a relaſpe. I perceived alſo that Doctor Luther *was much afflicted in minde for me: but he concealed his ſorrow, becauſe he would not encreaſe mine. And endeavoured to cheere me up with his noble courage, ſometimes comforting, ſometimes reproving me ſomewhat ſharply. Had he not come to me, I had died.*

This yeere *Robert Barnes* a learned Divine was burnt at *London* the laſt of *June*, for witneſſing to Gods truth. He was familiarly known to *Luther*, upon his coming to *Wittenberg* in the Embaſſie about the divorce made by King *Henry*. *Luther* cauſed the *Confeſsion* of this his friend, and the faithfull Martyr of Chriſt to be printed with *his Preface*, and beſides admoniſhed the Paſtours by another peculiar Treatiſe, to inveigh againſt Uſurers and Uſury.

Robert Barnes burnt at *London*.

His confeſſion printed by *Luther*.

In the beginning of the yeere 1541. *Luther* wrote a conſolatory letter to *Frederik Myconius* lamentably ſpent with a Conſumption: and affirmed that *himſelf could have no joy to live, if he died: and thereupon wiſhed that he himſelf might firſt lay down the tabernacle of his weake body: and ſaid that he was verily perſwaded that his prayers ſhould be granted for* Myconius *life*. As indeed it came to paſſe: for *Myconius* out-lived *Luther* ſix yeers, and would ſay: that *Luther* obtained this for him by his prayers. After Eaſter, *Bernard* the infant ſonne of *Iohn* of *Anhalt* was baptized at *Deſſam*. Here *Luther* preached two Sermons to the Courtiers, the Brother of the Prince of *Anhalt*, and the Biſhop of *Brandenburgh*: which were printed. He wrote alſo an Anſwer to a

An. 1541. *Myconius* ſick and comforted by *Luther*.

Iohn Sudding.

rayling book of one, whom he calleth *Hans Wurst*. Wherein he defended himself and his doctrin, against the Papists and their Popish errours. He put forth also an Exhortation to prayer against the Turk: and answered the Princes questions concerning Transubstantiation, Free-will, Justification by faith, and other points.

Tom. 7. Jen.

About this time the Bishoprick of *Neuburg*, by *Sala*, was voyd. Thete *Nicolas Amsdorf* a Divine born of a noble Family, was exalted by *Luther*, at the command of the Elector of *Saxony* the Patron of that Diocesse, and *Iulius Pflugius*, whom the Canons of the Colledge chose, was refused. *Luther* placed him in the Bishoprick, *Ian.* 16. *An.* 1542. This thing, as many conceived, gave occasion to other stirres: and very much offended the Emperour, who much affected *Pflugius* for divers respects. Of this see more in *Amsdorfs* life. After this *Luther* wrote a book in the *Germain* tongue, and call'd it, *The Pattern of the inauguration of a true Christian Bishop.*

An. 1542.

The *Alcoran* in the *German* tongue.

He published at that time the *Alcoran*, which by *Richard* a *Dominican* was translated into the vulgar tongue: He added to it *a faithfull admonition concerning the abandoning the Turks doctrin*, and affirmed *that not the Turk, but the Pope was Antichrist*. And upon a difference rising between the Elector of *Saxony* and *Maurice* concerning the territories and town of *Wurtzen*, so that warre was likely to ensue, *Luther* with weighty reasons in his letters dissuaded both the Princes from their designes. He fur-

ther also opened his judgement about a Position some yeeres agone by him propounded: Namely, *that to warre against the Turk was nothing else but to fight against God, who useth him as his whip to scourge us.* Now also he wrote a consolatory letter concerning abortive birthes and bringing forth dead children.

An. 1543.

The yeers 1543 and 44. produced many great troubles and stirres. For now the Sacramentary contention began afresh, to *Melanchthons* great grief: whom some attempted to set at jarres with *Luther*. Some there were also, who sought to coole *Luthers* heat, and spake little more favourably of the *Rhenan* Churches, then of the Turks. Wherefore when *Christopher Froschoverus* the Printer of *Tigur* sent *Luther* a copie of his *Tigurin* Bible then Printed, *Luther* admonished him by his letter, *that he should not publish any thing, which came to him from the Ministers of Tigur: and that he had nothing to do with them, nor would receive or read their bookes: that the Churches of God could not joyne in Communion with them, who already were running into the way of Perdition, and would bring others into hell and damnation:* and that he would oppugne them with his prayers and bookes whilest he lived. And now *Luther* first wrote against the Jews, and refuted their lies, and their blasphemous conceit about *Shemhamphoras*, the name of God expounded. He also wrote his judgement, and a short answer to *Casp. Schwenckfelds* booke and letters, whom he had not to mention him in his writings, and sent him away with this answer: *The Lord*

Camerarius in the life of *Melanthon.*

Luther to the Printer to *Tigur.*

Luther writeth against the Jews.

His answer to *C. Schwenckfeld.*

Lord reproue Satan who is in thee, confusion befall the Spirit, which called thee, and the course which thou runnest, and all the Sacramentarians and Eutychians, who partake with thee, and all thy blasphemies. Thou dooest as they, of whom it was written: they ran and I sent them not, they spake and I commanded them not.

His judgement about ceremonies and excommunication.

He wrote also his minde to others concerning the *Ceremonies* and *excommunication*: he desired that there should be few Ceremonies, and they tending to edification, and that excommunication should be brought into the Church as a profitable discipline: but could scarce hope to see it. He admonished the young students at *Wittenberg* to avoyd fornication, with which some then were taxed: yea he threatned that he would hold no societie with men of that ill condition: and tarried some time at *Mersburg* with the Prince of *Anhalt*. But afterward he was call'd to his ordinary taske by the University, sending for him an honourable Embassie. About this time he wrote an excellent Commentary upon the last words of *David*, wherein he soundly and plainly declared the Article of the Trinitie, the distinction of the persons, Christs Deitie and humanitie.

Luther at *Mersburg*.

A commentary upon *Davids* last words.

An. 1544. Commentary on *Genesis*.

In the yeere 1544. he finished the *first part of his Commentaries on Genesis*: in which he often blameth the Sacramentarians: and *foretelleth, that after his death many would oppugne* Luthers *doctrin*. Then in *September* he published the briefe and *last Confession concerning the Eucharist*: wherein he expressely explaineth what in the Lords Supper is received by the worthy receivers, what by the unworthy; what

by

by faith, what without faith: and *cenſures* Zwinglius, Oecolampadius *and others at* Tigur: who ſet forth an Apologie of their doctrin the yeere following. Of this * elſewhere is ſpoken.

This very yeere the 17. of *November* he finiſhed his *explication of Geneſis*: which was his laſt publique reading in the Univerſitie: which he concluded with theſe words. *Thus end I my explication on Geneſis; God grant that others may more rightly and truly expound it, then I have done. I cannot proceed farther therein: my ſtrength faileth me: pray for me, that it would pleaſe God to grant me a quiet and comfortable departure out of this life.*

This yeere in *Italy* was ſpread a moſt impudent lie about *Luthers* death: The ſumme of it tranſlated out of the *Italian* is this.

"A ſtupendious & rare miracle which God ever "to be praiſed, ſhewed about the filthy death of "*Martin Luther*, a man damned both in body and "ſoule, ſo that it conduced to the glory of Jeſus "Chriſt, and the amendment and comfort of godly men. When *Martin Luther* was ſick, he deſired the Lords body to be communicated to him, "which he receiving, died preſently. When he "ſaw that he muſt die, he requeſted that his body "might be ſet upon the Altar, and be adored with "divine worſhip. But God to put an end to his "horrible errours, by a great miracle warned the "people to abſtain from the impietie, which *Luther* invented: For when his body was laid in his "grave: ſuddenly ſo great a ſtirre and terrour

* In the life of *Bulling.* and *Lavat. Hiſtor. Sacr.*

Luthers laſt Lecture.

See *Matheſ.* Sermon concerning *Luther. p.* 169. b.

The lye in *Italy* about *Luthers* death.

Tom. 8. *Jen. p.* 206.

"atose, as if the foundations of the earth were sha-
"ken together. Whereupon all at the funerall
"trembling, were astonished, and after a while lift
"ing up their eyes, beheld the sacred hoste appear-
"ing in the ayre. Wherefore with great devotion
"of heart, they placed the most sacred Host on the
"holy Altar. Whereupon the fearefull noyse ceа-
"sed. But in the night following a loud noyse and
"ratling much shriller then the former was heard
"about the sepulcher of *Luther*, which awaked all
"the Citie, terrified them, and almost kill'd them
"with astonishment. In the morning when they
"opened the sepulcher, they found neither his bo-
"dy, nor his bones, nor any of the cloathes: but
"there came a sulphurous stinke out thereof, which
"almost overcame the standers by. By this mira-
"cle many were so amazed, that they amended
"their lives for the honour of the Christian faith,
"and the glory of Jesus Christ. When this lye
came Printed into *Germany*, *Luther* did subscribe
with his own hand, words to this purpose.

I Martin Luther *doe professe and witnesse under mine owne hand, that I on the* 21. *day of* March *received this figment full of anger and fury concerning my death, and that I read it with a joyfull mind, and cheerfull countenance: And but that I detest the blasphemy, which ascribeth an impudent lie to the divine Majestie, for the other passages, I cannot but with great joy of heart laugh at Satans, the Popes, and their complices hatred against me. God turne their hearts from their diabolicall mulicionsnesse. But if God decree not to heare*

my

my prayers for their ſinne unto death: then God graunt that they may fill up the meaſure of their ſinnes, and ſolace themſelves to the full with their libels, full fraught with ſuch like lies.

This yeere *Luther* ſet forth a book intituled, *Againſt the Popedome ordained by the Devill.* In this he treats of the Councel appointed by the Pope, and often adjourned, or tranſlated from place to place, and of other plots of the Popes. There he ſpeaketh of the *Campanian*, who comming out of *Germany* into *Italy*, turned his bare breech towards *Germany*, uſing words to the diſgrace of the nation.

The *Italian* diſgraced the *Germans.*

Luther publiſhed divers other Treatiſes as the explication of Chriſts ſpeech. *Search the ſcriptures:* And ſhewed *The blindnes & ingratitude of the world*, in handling Chriſts complaint of *Ieruſalem.* By *Luthers* advice eſpecially, *Georgius Anhaltinus* undertooke the government of the Church of *Merſberg.* Of this is ſpoken in the life of Duke *George.*

In the yeere 1546. *Luther* accompanied with *Melanchthon* viſited his owne countrey: and returned again in ſafety. Not long after, the Councel of *Trent* being begun, and having ſate once or twice, *Luther* was called again by the *Earles* of *Mansfield* to his owne countrey, for to compoſe a diſſention among them concerning their bounds and heritages. *Luther* was not wont to deale in matters of this nature, having been verſed in ſacred ſtudies all his life time: but becauſe he was borne at *Iſleben*, a towne in the territories of *Mansfield*, he was willing to do his countrey ſervice in this kind. Where-

An. 1546.

The Councel of *Trent* began.

Cameravius in vita Melanct.

Luther called to *Mansfield.*

He lodged at *Justus Jonas* his house.

fore making his laſt ſermon at *Wittenburg* the 17. day of *Ianuary*, he tooke his journey on the 23. day: And at *Hall* in *Saxony* lodged at *Iuſtus Ionas* his houſe, where he ſtayed three dayes becauſe of the roughneſſe of the waters, and preached the 26. of *Ianuary* upon *Pauls Converſion*. On the 28. day being Thurſday at *Hall* he paſſed over the river with *Iuſtus Ionas* and his own three ſonnes, and being in danger of drowning ſaid to D. *Ionas*; *Think you not, that it would rejoyce the Devill very much, if I and you and my three ſonnes ſhould be drowned?* When he came to the Earles of *Mansfield*, he was entertained by a hundred horſemen or more of the Court, and was brought into *Iſleben* very honourably, but very ſick, and almoſt paſt recovery: which thing he ſaid did often befall him, when he had any great buſineſſe to undertake. But uſing ſome meanes for cure of his infirmity, he ſate at ſupper with the company: and ſo continued to do from the 29. of *Ianuary* to the 17. of *February*, and treated of the differences, for whoſe determination he came thither. In this time he preached ſometimes, and twice received the Lords ſupper, and publikely received two ſtudents into the *ſacred order of the Miniſtery*. And at his lodging uſed much godly conference at Table with his friends, and every day devoutly prayed. The day before his death though he was ſomewhat weake, yet he dined and ſupped with the company: and at ſupper ſpake of divers matters and among other paſſages asked, *whether in Heaven we ſhould know one an other?* when the reſt deſired to heare

Luthers danger.

Luther very ſick.

Luthers imployment.

Luthers conference.

Whether in the other life we ſhall know one another.

his judgement thereof. He ſaid. *What befell Adam? he never ſaw Eve, but was at reſt in a deep ſleep, when God formed her, yet when he awaked and ſaw her, he asketh not; what ſhe was, or whence ſhe was? but ſaith, that ſhe was fleſh of his fleſh and bone of his bone. Now how knew he that? He being full of the Holy Ghoſt, and endued with the knowledge of God, thus ſpake. After the ſame manner we alſo ſhall be in the other life renewed by Chriſt; and ſhall know our parents, our wives, and children, and all about us, much more perfectly, then Adam knew Eve at her bringing to him.*

Luthers diſeaſe of which he died.

After ſupper, when he went aſide to pray, as was his cuſtome, the paine in his breaſt began to increaſe: whereupon by the advice of ſome there preſent, he tooke a little *Vnicornes* horne in wine: and after that ſlept quietly an houre or two on a pallat neer the fire. When he awaked, he betooke himſelfe to his chamber, went to bed, and bidding his friends, good night, admoniſhed them, who were preſent *to pray God for the propagation of the Goſpel: becauſe the Councel of* Trent *and the Pope would attempt wonderfull deviſes againſt it.* Having thus ſaid, after a little ſilence he fell aſleep: But was awaked by the violence of his diſeaſe after midnight. Then complained he again of the narrowneſſe of his breaſt, and perceiving that his life was at an end, he thus implored Gods mercy, and ſaid.

Luthers prayer before his death.

O heavenly father, my gracious God, and Father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, thou God of all conſolation, I give thee heartie thanks, that thou haſt revealed to me, thy Son Ieſus Chriſt; whom I beleeve, whom I profeſſe,

whom I love, whom I glorifie, whom the Pope of Rome and the rout of the wicked persecute and dishonour. I beseech thee, Lord Iesus *Christ to receive my soule. O my gracious heavenly Father, though I be taken out of this life, though* I *must now lay down this fraile body: yet* I *certainly know, that* I *shall live with thee eternally, and that* I *cannot be taken out of thy hands.* He added moreover. *God so loved the world, that he gave his onely begotten Son, that every one, who beleeveth in him should not perish, but have life everlasting.* And that in the 68. Psalme. *Our God is the God of salvation: and our Lord is the Lord, who can deliver from death.* And here taking a medicine, and drinking it, he further said. *Lord* I *render up my spirit into thy hands and come to thee. And again, Lord into thy hands* I *commend my spirit, thou, O God of truth, hast redeemed me.* Here as one falling asleep and without any bodily pain, that could be discerned, he departed this life. And when Doctor *Ionas* and *Celius* said. *O reverend father, do you die in the constant confession of that doctrin of Christ, which you have hitherto preached?* He answered so as he might be heard: *yea*, which was the last word he spake. Thus he in his native countrey, not having seen it many yeers before, dyed much lamented by many. This fell on the eighteen of *February* on the day in the Calender ascribed to *Concord*, about three a clock in the morning, in the great climacterical yeere of his age. Soone after his body put into a coffin of Lead, was carried in funerall manner to the Temple of *Isleben*: where *Iustus Ionas* preached.

Luthers death.

Then

Then the *Earles* of *Mansfield* desired *that his body should be interred within their territories*: But the *Elector* of *Saxony*, required that it should be brought back to *Wittenberg*. In the return thereof, which way so ever it went, it was honourably attended, and with much griefe accompanied out of each Princes Dominion: and at length upon the 22. of *February* in the afternoon, was brought to *Wittenberg*, and was carried into the *Temple* neere adjoyning to the *Castle*, with such a troop of *Princes*, *Earles*, *Nobles*, their living as students, and other people, that the like was seldome or never seene in that town. When the funerall rites were performed, *Pomeranus* preached to an assembly of many thousands. And after that *Melanchthon* with many teares and sighes made a funerall Oration. When this was done, the coffin with his body was put by the hands of divers learned men, into the tomb neere to the pulpit, in which he had made many learned Sermons before divers *Princes*, *Electors*, *and the Congregation* of many *faithfull Christians*. In a brazen plate his picture, lively deciphered, was there set up, with verses by it to this effect.

Luthers body brought to *wittenberg*.

His honourable buriall.

This

This Sepulchre great *Luthers* Corps containes
This might ſuffice: yet, read theſe following ſtrains.

HEer, in this Vrne doth Martin Luther reſt,
And ſweetly ſleep in hope to riſe moſt bleſt.
By whoſe rare pains, firme faith, and Chriſts free Grace,
Wh'ch formerly, thick Fogs of Error baſe,
And duskie Clouds of Works deſert hid quite,
Were well reduced to their ancient Light.
For, when blind Superſtition ruled All,
And did faire Truth, long time, ſuppreſſe, and thrall,
He, by Gods Word and Spirits inſpiration,
The Goſpels Light re-ſpred, for every Nation.
And, well-inſtructed by Pauls ſacred voyce, (choice.
(Scorning Romes Cheats,) to teach pure Truth, made
And, as Iohn Baptiſt, in the Wilderneſſe,
Did Gods Lamb, who heales Sin Preach and expreſſe:
So (O Sweet Chriſt) did Luther cleare thy book,
When all the World was caught with Errors hook.
And, what the difference was betwixt the Law
(Whoſe tables Moſes brake, though God he ſaw,
Vpon Mount-Sinai) and the Goſpel ſweet, (meet
Which heales Sin-conſcious hearts, which Gods wrath
This difference, loſt, to th' world He did reſtore,
That, ſo, Chriſts gifts of Grace might ſhine the more;
He ſtoutly did oppoſe Romes Cheats and Charmes,
And Papal rule, which wrought Gods Saints great harms.
Exhorting all, Romes idols for to flie,
He many ſoules wan to true pietie.
And, maugre all Romes threats and ſnares moſt ſlie,
Finiſht,

Finisht, in Faith, his Course, most valiantly.
Dying in peace, his Soule with Christ doth rest,
Crown'd with immortall Glory, truly blest.
For which rare Doctor let both high and low
Blesse God, that they so cleare Christs truth do know.
And pray the Lord that these his Gospels rayes
May to the World shine-forth for dateless dayes.

Philip Melancthon.

Dead is grave Luther, *worthy all due praise,*
Who set forth Christ, in Faith illustrious rayes.
His Death the Church laments, with Sighs sincere,
Who was her Pastour, nay, her Patron deare.
Our Israels Chariots and Horsemen rare,
Is Dead, with me, let All sad Sables weare;
Let them their griefe in groaning verses sing,
For, such sad Knells, such Orphans, best, may ring.

Theodore Beza.

Rome tam'd the World, the Pope tum'd Rome, so great;
Rome rul'd by Power, the Pope by deep Deceit.
But, how more large, than Theirs, was Luthers *Fame,*
Who, with One Pen, both Pope and Rome did tame?
Go, fictious Greece, go tell Alcides, *then;*
His Club is nothing to great Luthers *Pen.*

John Major.

By Luthers *labours,* Leo *the tenth is slain;*
Not Hercules *Club, but* Luthers *Pen's his bane.*

Joachim a Beust.

When Luther *dy'd, then, with him dy'd, most sure,*
A Crown, and credit of Religion pure.
His Soul sour'd up to heaven, on Concords day,
Which tended Luther, *thither, on his way:*
Deare Christ, since Discord followed with Coates rent,
Give to thy Spouse Elijahs *ornaments.*

Upon his Tomb-stone the Universitie of *Wittenberg*, as to her beloved father, engraved.

MARTINI LVTHERI S. THEOLOGIÆ
D. CORPVS H. L. S. E. QVI ANNO
CHRISTI M. D. XLVI. XII. CAL.
MARTII HISLEBII IN PA-
TRIA S. M. O. C. V. AN.
LXIII. M. III. D. X.

The body of *Martin Luther* Doctour of Divinity lieth here interred, who in An. 1546. the 12. of the Kalends of *March* died in *Isleben* the place of his birth: when he had lived 63. yeeres 3. moneths and seven dayes.

Thus *Luther* ran his course, & this was the period of his travels. When first *Melanthon* heard newes of his death, he uttered these sacred words of the scripture: *The Chariot and horsemen of Israel is gone.* and tooke his death most heavily. For they had lived together 28. yeeres in most religious manner, so that *Melanthon* truely loved him for his admirable vertues: and was a faithfull mate and helper to him in clearing the doctrine of the Gospel. For though those times were prone to distractions, and

Melanthons sorrow for *Luthers* death.

Their intire love & faithfull society.

and mens wavering mindes desirous of dissention, yet when as each knew others infirmities, there never fell any jarre betweene them, which caused any alienation of their affection, or parting their company and fellowship.

What followed *Luthers* death.

But what and how great stormes rose in *Germany* after the death of *Luther* (out alas!) each Christian knoweth. So that *Luther* said truly, and often foretold: *That whilst he lived, by Gods help, there would no warre be rayſed in* Germany; *but when he was dead, the age to come would ſee the event.* Concerning the doctrine of the Gospel, he uttered this heavenly truth. These things will be a great bane to Christian Religion. First, *forgetfullneſſe of Gods bleſsing on us in reſtoring to us the Gospel.* Secondly, *ſecurity, which already commonly and every where raigneth.* Thirdly, *worldly wiſdome, which would bring all things into good order, and cure the publique ſtirres with wicked Councels.*

See *Mathel.* Serm. on *Luthers* life.

What will be great hinderances of Christian Religion.

There was in this worthy man of God a quicke and prudent understanding, a magnanimous and noble Spirit. He was ever constant in known truth: from the confession whereof he could never be removed with threats or promises. So that when upon a time, one Papist demanded of an other, *Why do you not ſtop the mans mouth with gold and ſilver?* The other answered: See, this *German beaſt careth not for money.*

Luthers vertues.

His constancy in the truth.

There appeared in him a singular proofe of his valour and noble courage in the *Anſpurg* Assembly, when thus he wrote out of his Wilderneſſe to *Spalatinus*.

Luthers couragious ſpeech about the Goſpels ſucceſſe at the Aſſembly at *Auſpurg* 1530.

latinus. "That Kings and Princes and people, rage "againſt the Chriſt or anointed of God, I eſteem it "a good ſign, and think it much better then if they "flattered. For thereupon followeth, that he that "dwels in heaven laughes at them. And when our "Lord and King laughes, I ſee no cauſe, why we "ſhould weep before their faces. He laughes not "for his own ſake, but for ours, that we rather truſt-"ing to him then to any thing elſe, might laugh at "their vain deſigns: ſo much need is there of faith, "that the cauſe of faith may not be looked upon "without faith. But he that begun this worke, he "began it without our counſell and contrivance; "And he himſelf will forward with it, and finiſh it "without, and beyond all our counſels and deviſes: "of this I make no queſtion; I know and am aſſu-"red hereof. He in whom I beleeve, is able to do "above all, which we can aske or conceive. Though "*Philip Melanchthon* contrive and deſire that God "ſhould work according to, and within the com-"paſſe of his counſels, that he might have wherein "to glory: and ſay, Surely thus the buſineſſe ſhould "be carried: Thus would I have done. But this is "not well ſpoken: I *Philip* would have it ſo: This (I) "is too flat and dull, too low a ſtyle. It muſt be "thus. The God, who ſaith, I am that I am; this "is his name, *I am*; He will have it ſo. It is not "yet ſeen who he is, but he will appear, as he is, and "we ſhall ſee him. But I have done. Be you vali-"ant in the Lord, and put *Melanchthon* in minde "from me, that he ſet not himſelf in Gods place:

"but

"but fight againſt that ambition of Deitie, which "was inbred and took root in us in Paradiſe by the "devils ſuggeſtion: for that is an affectation not "furthering the buſineſſe now in hand. The deſire "of being like God, thruſt *Adam* and *Eve* out of "Paradiſe, and it alone doth trouble us, and turn "us out of the courſe of Peace. We muſt be mor-"tall men, and not Gods: Thus in briefe: If we "think otherwiſe, everlaſting unquietneſſe and an-"guiſh of heart will be our reward.

Luther was ready for Martyrdom once or twice, and thought his adverſaries would have him to it: whereupon at his going to *Auſpurg*. *An.* 1518. thus he wrote to his deare freind * *Melanct*. *Shew your ſelfe a man of reſolution, as you already doe. Teach the ſtudents Gods truth. I am going* (*if God ſo pleaſe*) *to be ſacrificed for them and you. For I had rather die, and never more enjoy* (*which thing alone would be moſt grievous to me*) *your moſt ſweet ſocietie, then to recant and revoke any truth which* I *have preached, and give occaſion to overthrow the right courſe of ſtudies.* And elſewhere he thus wrote * to *Spalatinus*. *I had rather, as I have often ſayd, die by the hands of the Romaniſts alone. And would by no meanes that* Charles *and his Counſellours ſhould interpoſe themſelves in putting mee to death.* I *know what miſery befell* Sigiſmund *the Emperor after the martyring of* Hus: *how nothing proſpered with him afterward, how he died without iſſue male, how his daughters ſonne* Ladiſlaus *alſo died, and ſo had he his name extinguiſhed in one age of men: beſides* Barbara *his Queen became a diſhonour to the royall place*

* *Tom.* 1. *epiſt. p.* 85.

* *Tom.* 1. *epiſt. p.* 297. and *Tom.* 2. *p.* 340.

The Emperour *Sigiſmund* unhappy after *Hus* his death.

place she held, and other matters which you well know. But yet if it so please God, that I shall be delivered into the hands not only of the Papists & spiritual Governours, but of Temporal Magistrates also, the Lords will be done. Amen. And againe thus to *Lambert Thorn* imprisoned. *I rejoyce with you most heartily, and give thanks to our Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ, that he hath not onely graciously given me the knowledge of his word, but made me see a plentifull and glorious encrease of his grace in you. Wretched man that I am! It is reported that I first taught those things, for which you suffer, and yet shall be the last, or perhaps shall not be vouchsafed at all, to be made partaker of your imprisonments & Martyrdoms. Yet herein will I challenge something, and comfort my selfe in this, that your miseries, your bonds and imprisonments, the fires prepared for you are mine also: and so indeed they are, seeing I professe and preach the same things with you, and suffer and rejoyce together with you.*

Tom. 2. Epist.

The chiefe points of Religion opened and cleared by *Luther*.

God by *Luther* and his fellow workmen opened and cleared the necessarie doctrin of Gods Church concerning the *Mediatour and justification of man before God*, of the *differences of the Law and the Gospel*, of *worship pleasing God*, of *Invocation*: and other points. He was wont often to deplore the ungodly praying to the Saints departed, and said: *That there were many reasons, why that invocation was execrable, and that this was one chiefe: namely, that by that profane custome the Testimony of Christs Divinity was obscured, to whom both the writings of the Prophets and Apostles doe attribute the honour of Invocation. These are the Idols,*

which

which sharpen the barbarous sword of the Turk to cut of our neckes. Nor will he ever be kept from shedding our blood, except in godly manner those things be reformed. For how wicked and impious those hymnes be, which are sung in the Popes Quires, who knoweth not? O Mary, thou Mother of grace defend us from our enemie, and in the houre of death receive us. *And againe.* Saint *Dorothy* create a new heart within us: Saint *Catharin* translate us from the troublesome sea of the world to the pleasures of Paradise: open Paradise for us.

Melanct. Tom. 6. declam.

And that Gods truth might be propagated to posterity, with continuall and great labour and study he so plainly and perspicuously out of the originall texts translated the Bible into the *German* tongue, that his translation may well serve in steed of a Commentary. He often speaketh of the labour and difficulty of this taske. As in his letter to *Wenceslaus Linceus. We are now busied in translating the Prophets, a worke* (*God knoweth*) *of great paines and industry, to bring* Hebrew *writers to speake the* German *tongue, to leave their* Hebrew *idiom, and expresse themselves in our barbarous language: This is as if the* Nightingale *should be compelled to imitate the* Cuckow, *to leave her warbling melody, and fall into an unisone.* And again to *Spalatinus. In translating* Iob *we are put to very great paines in regard of the loftinesse of the style: that this book may seeme more impatient of our translation, then* Iob *himselfe of his friends comforting him: He may seeme yet still to sit upon the dunghill. Vnlesse perhaps the Author of the booke desired*

Luthers worthy paines in translating the Bible.

The difficulty of *Jobs* Translation.

Luthers course in translating the Bible.

red, that it never should be translated. This is the reason why the Presse maketh no better hast in this part of the Bible. In this worke he used the paines and counsel of his colleagues, whom elsewhere we have named, that they might be witnesses of his faithfull care in darke places. He entreated *Spalatinus* to send precious stones from the Court, for his better knowledge of them: and took care that he might know the names and differences of certain beasts and fowles, and creeping things, and insects. He had Rams, Sheep, Calves kild and cut up at his house, and learned the names of their joynts and the proprietie of speech about them, from the butchers. Oftentimes, as himself relateth, he spent fourteen dayes together in the interpretation of one word or line with *Melanthon* and *Aurogallus* help. In their consultation, this was their course. *Luther was President in the work performed in the Monastery, and ever had by him the old Latine Translation, and his new one, and the Originill Text: To* Melancthons *care was commended the Greek Bible; to* Crucigers *the Hebrew and Chaldee: other professours were imployed in the perusing the Rabbins: and every one of them still came to the worke well premeditated. Every one gave his judgement concerning the place to be translated, they compared all together, and at length concluded of the expression thereof.* But *Luther* before his death revised the first edition: for *one day teacheth another.* For this paines we owe him perpetuall thanks: for it much benefits the Church, and informeth such as know not the originall: yea it much pleasures the learned

Tom. 1 epist. 171.

Matbes. Sermon concerning *Luthers* life. *p.* 153.

Luthers revising the first Edition of the Bible.

learned in the tongues for conference of tranſlations. Yet this paines was blamed by *Vicelius* and *Staphylus* and other vaſſals of the Pope.

Who carped at this.

Luther alſo publiſhed many learned Expoſitions and Comments on the Scripture: Of wch thus ſaith *Eraſmus*. *In one leaf of* Luthers *Commentaries is more ſolid Divinitie, then in many prolix Treatiſes of the School-men, and other the like.* He alſo refined and much enriched the *German* tongue: He tranſlated out of Latine, ſome things which other thought not poſſible to be rendred in the vulgar tongue, and yet uſed moſt ſignificant and proper words, ſo that ſome one word might ſeeme to ſet the whole matter forth moſt expreſſely.

Luther expoſitions of the Bible. *Eraſm.* judgement thereof.

Luthers eloquence in his own tongue.

Of the Pope *Luther* wrote, how he made uſe of the Maſſe even for the ſouls departed: and ſaith, that he with his Maſſe had gone not onely into all corners of the world, but even into purgatory it ſelf: here he uſeth a word in the *German* tongue ſignifying the noyſe * of his tumbling down into hell. Alſo he calleth Indulgence-Mongers, *purſe-threſhers*, becauſe the Pope winnowed good money out of that chaffe. There are full many ſuch paſſages in his *German* writings. Well therefore ſaid renowned *Sturnius* concerning him. "*Luther* may "be reputed very well the Maſter of our tongue, "whether you ſpeake of the puritie or copiouſ-"neſſe of it. The counſellers of Princes, the Judges "of Cities, all Secretaries, all Embaſſadours and "Lawyers attribute this praiſe to him being a Di-"vine. The cauſe defended by him was juſt and

* *Iſt hinunter gerum, Pett in die helle.*

"ceſſary, and of it ſelf deſerved the victory: but "aſſuredly he ſhot forth the darts of his arguments, "with the ſtrong armes of true Oratory. If he had "not revived Religion, if he had preached no Ser-"mons; had he written nothing elſe, but what he "divulged of the Scriptures tranſlated, yet for this "his paines, he deſerved very excellent and per-"petuall glory. For if the Greek and Latine, and "other tranſlations be compared with the *German*, "they come ſhort for clearneſſe, pureneſſe, pro-"prietie, & agreeing with the original. I am perſwa-"ded that as no Painter could paſſe *Apelles*; ſo not "any writer can go beyond *Luther* for his tranſla-"tion in our tongue.

Luthers adverſaries.

He began a matter, as was conceived, beyond the reach of man; and liable to extreame danger. *But there is no counſell, no power prevalent againſt the Lord*: who moſt admirably defended *Luther* living and dead againſt all his adverſaries. Whileſt he li-ved, he had moſt potent, moſt ſubtle enemies, and in a word, all Antichriſts kingdome: nor onely did the Pope and his Biſhops, his Univerſities and other Sophiſters openly ſet upon him with Buls and Trea-tiſes publiſhed: but deſigned to take him away cloſely with poyſon, daggers, guns, and other meanes. Concerning ſecret plots againſt him, they be well known. He thus ſpeaks of them. "There "* is here a Polonian Jew hired with two thouſand "crownes to poyſon me: my friends have diſclo-"ſed the plot to me by their letters. He is a Do-"ctor of Phyſick, and dare attempt any thing, and "will

Secret plots againſt *Lu-ther*.

"will go about it with incredible craft and celerity. "This very houre I cauſed him to be apprehen-"ded; what the event will be, I cannot ſay. This is the news. To *Spalatinus* alſo [a] he wrote, *that there were many Actors of the plot, whom he would not have wrackt, if they would not voluntarily confeſſe by whom they were ſuborned, but endeavoured to have them ſet at libertie.* Yet he addeth. *Though I am fully perſwaded that he was the man deſcried unto me, all marks of him did ſo rightly anſwer the deſcription ſent to me.* Again, what the Papiſts did attempt, the words of *Alexander* the Popes Legate do well declare. Of w^ch *Luther* thus ſpeaks. *Spalatinus writeth* [b] *that* Alexander *was bold to ſay; Though you Germans, who pay the leaſt ſummes of money to the Pope, have ſhaken of the yoke of ſervitude, yet we will take a courſe that ye ſhall be conſumed with civill broyles, and periſh in your own blood.*

[a] *Tom. 2. epiſt. 271.*

The Papiſts deſignes.

[b] *Tom. 2. epiſt. p. 8.*

Concerning the fables and lies caſt abroad in his life time, what ſhould I ſay? Of his countrey and parentage, it was bruited, that he was a *Bohemian*, and borne of (as they call them) heretical Parents. Then they layd aſperſions upon his promotion at *Wittenberg*, and defamed it with ſundry lies. Heare what he wrote to *Spalatinus*: *That Embaſſador, or I know not what of* Ferdinands, *was with me, to ſee what manner of man I was, and how I carried my ſelfe. He ſayd that it was told his Maſter, that I went up and down armed and guarded, and did ſpend my time among Queanes, divers tavern hunters, and was notorious among all men, with I know not what other the like honours. But I am now well inured to ſuch lies.* How

Lies againſt *Luther*.

Tom. 2. epiſt. p. 8.

Tom. 2. ep. p. 71. 85. 289.

* Tom. 2. ep. pag. 6.

* Tom. 1. ep. p. 292.

often was he reported to fly to the *Bohemians*? how often were *ſcandals* rayſed from his writings? how often was he cal'd a *flatterer of Princes*, a *trumpet of ſedition*? His bold ſpeech and vehemency was a ſtring much harped upon. Whence he ſaith of himſelfe. *Almoſt all men* * *condemne me of two much eagerneſſe. But I am of your mind, that it is Gods will to have the inventions of men in this manner thus revealed. For I ſee matters in this our age quietly handled to be quickly forgotten, and no man to regard them.* And again. * "Yet do not I deny, but that I am more vehement then is fit: which thing ſeeing they know "ſo well, they ſhould refraine from provoking me: "How hard a thing it is to bridle the pen, you may "well enough learne by your ſelfe. And this is the "reaſon, why I have ever been averſe from ſhewing "my ſelfe in publique matters: but the more a-"verſe that I was, ſo much the more was I carried "againſt my owne deſire, yet never, unleſſe moſt "grievous wrongs were done, the Word of God "or my ſelfe for its ſake. Whereupon it fell out "that had I not been apt by nature to vehemency "and imbittering my ſtyle, the very indignity of "the matter would have urged a dead and ſtony "heart to write ſharply: how much more my ſelfe, "who am of an ardent ſpirit, & write not a dul ſtile. "Monſters of men carried me beyond the due "temper of modeſty. For the warrant of this ſharpnes he uſed to alleadge the example of Chriſt, who called the Jewes, *an adulterous & perverſe generation, a generation of Vipers, hypocrites, children of the Devill*;

vill: and *Pauls* example, who calleth them *dogs, vaine bablers, ſeducers, illiterate*: yea *Act.* 13. moſt ſharply inveighes againſt the falſe Prophet. Moreover *Eraſmus* often uſed to ſay. *In regard of the height of the diſeaſes of this laſt age of the world, God hath ſent them a ſharpe Phyſitian.* Alſo *Charles* the Emperour ſayd. *If the Popes Prieſts were ſuch as they ſhould be, they would not need a* Luther. Further he had divers ſpirituall tentations and terrible buffets of Satan: as namely in his ſickneſſe at *Coburg*, and at other times, when his body was weake. Theſe much afflicted him, and ſometimes made him lie as one dead; but by phyſick applyed for his cure, and reading the Scripture, and ſinging of Pſalmes, which he uſed to call them about him unto, he was recovered, and eaſed of thoſe affrights, and eſteemed them but as the Devils traps, from which God would deliver him.

Charles the Emperour kept the ſouldiers from digging up *Luthers* bones.

In the diſmall warre of *Germany*, ſcarce could the ſouldiers be reſtrained from exerciſing their cruelty upon his dead corps. For when *Wittenberg* yeelded to the Emperour *Charles*: and he came to ſee the towne; the *Spaniards* would have digged up *Luthers* tombe, and burnt his body, *Charles* the fifth (as faithfull witneſſes have related) ſaid. *Suffer him to reſt till the day of reſurrection, and the Iudgement of all men.*

But in the beginning of *Luthers* preaching, he minded not to have proceeded ſo farre, as the iſſue drew him to. For *An.* 1520. he thus wrote. *I will offer them ſilence with all humility: ſo that others be alſo*

Tom. 1. [illegible] *Luth.* p. [illegible] b.

silent. For I will omit nothing on my part, which may conduce to peace: and have ever been carefull so to doe. I will therefore make ready an humble letter to the Pope: If matters prove calme as I hope, it is well. If not, it is well also: for it is Gods pleasure so to have it. He often purposed also to have departed from the Papists malice. For thus he writeth to *Spalatinus*. *Had not your letter come to my handes, I had prepared to have gone out of the way. And yet I am ready to be gone, or to stay.* And againe, *I have not free liberty to speake or write, If I goe hence, I will poure out my whole mind, and offer my life to Christ.*

Luther discerned not all truth at first. Tom. 1. ep. pag. 130.

He daily more and more discerned Gods truth, and could not wind himselfe out of some errours in the beginning presently: for about the *invocation* of Saints thus he wrote *An.* 1518. "My good *Spalatinus*, I never judged, that the worship of Saints was "superstitious, nor the praying to them for matters "especially pertaining to the body. For thus our "neighbours the *Pighards* hereticks in *Boemia* con-"ceit. For we in better manner obtaine of God "by his Saints any good thing (for assuredly all "good is Gods gift) then others get by *Magicians* "and *Wisards* of the Devill, as the manner is. But "this my meaning was, that it is superstitious, yea "ungodly & wicked to beg of God and the Saints "things corporall onely, and to neglect the things "which concerne the soule and salvation, and are "sued for according to Gods will: As if we forgot "or beleeved not his word, saying; Seeke first or "cheifely the kingdome of God, and all these

"things

"things shall be added to you. Yea every where "Christ teacheth us to slight corporall matters, "and our bodies, as base things in regard of our "soules. Concerning the adoration in the Sacrament thus he wrote. "I say [a] it is free for us to "adore Christ, and call upon him *sub sacramento* "under the Sacrament. For he sins not, who doth "not adore: nor doth he sinne, who doth adore. Concerning the administration of the Lords Supper in the vulgar tongue thus he wrote. "I wish the "Masse [b] might be used in the Mother tongue, ra-"ther then can promise to have it so. Because I can-"not bring it to passe, as being a matter r. quiring "both Musick and the Spirit. So in the mean time "I permit every man to abound in his own sense; "till Christ inables me to say more. He first celebrated the Masse in the mother tongue, *An.* 1525. as he writeth to *Langus* and the members of *Erford*. *This day we attend the Princes command, the next Lords day we will publiquely sing in the name of Christ: and Masse shall be in the mother tongue for the Lay people. But the daily service shall be in Latine, but we will have the Lessons in the vulgar tongue.* These things ye shall have shortly published.

[a] Tom. 2. ep. pag. 72.

[b] Tom. 2. ep. pag. 243.

Tom. 2. ep. pag. 301.

Luther causes Psalmed in the *German* tongue to be used. Concerning this thus he wrote to *Spalatinus*, *An.* 1524. *We intend according to the example of the Prophets and ancient fathers of the Church, to make Psalmes or spirituall songs for the common people, that the word of God may continue among the people, if not otherwise, yet surely in Psalmes. We seeke for Poets,*

Tom. 2. ep. pag. 230.

where

where we may. Now seeing you have attained both the free use and Elegancy of the German *tongue, I intreat you to take some paines with us in this businesse, and try how you can turn a Psalme into verse: as I have given you a pattern. I would have you not to use late invented and courtly termes: But make the verse to fit the simplest and most vulgar capacitie: yet let the words be smooth and proper. Let the sense also be cleare, and as neere as may be to the originall: yet may you use this freedome, as to vary the words sometimes, so that you keep the sense. I cannot performe the worke so neatly, as I would, and therefore desire to try how neere you can come to* Heman, Asaph *or* Jeduthun.

He taught many things soundly and gravely about the Scripture and the authoritie thereof, as; *That our faith was to be built on the Canonicall books, the other books required our judgement.* Of the word, the Sacraments and Ministers he taught. *That we are planters and waterers, and are Ministers of the word of life and Sacraments of salvation: but are not Givers of the increase.* Concerning our Justice he said. Thou Lord art my justice: *I am sinne. Thou hast taken what I am, and given me, that which was thine. Thou hast taken that which thou wast not, and given me, that which I was not.* Concerning ceremonies he said. *I condemne no Ceremonies, but those which are contrary to the Gospel.* Concerning *Moses: As the learned men of the world say, that* Homer *is the father of all the Poets, the fountain, yea the Ocean of all learning and wisdome, and eloquence: so our* Moses *is the father and fountain of all the Prophets and sacred books: that is,*

Tom. 1. epist. p. 61.

Tom. 2. epist. p. 373.

Tom. 1. epist. pag. 11.

Tom. 2. epist. pag. 371.

Tom. 2. epist. pag. 28.

of

of all heavenly wisdome and eloquence. Concerning humane learning. *I am perswaded that Theologie could not wholly be kept sincere without the skill of other Arts. For heretofore, when knowledge of other learning was decayed or despised, Theologie did fall and lay neglected most miserably. Nay, I discern that the revelation of Gods Word would never have become so glorious, unlesse first the Tongues and Arts had been brought into use and flourished, and made a way for Divinitie, as* John Baptist *did for Christ.* And elsewhere, *I think they erre, and are extremely out of the way, who think the knowledge of Philosophy and of nature to be of no use for Theologie.* Of Tentations thus he speaketh. *I would have men, who are tempted, thus to be comforted with faith and hope: first to avoyd solitarinesse, and still to have company and to sing Psalmes and talke of holy matters. Then secondly, to be assuredly perswaded, (whish though it be most difficult, yet is it the most ready cure) that those thoughts are not their own, but Satans: and therefore that they should earnestly endeavour to turn their hearts to some other thoughts, and leave those evill thoughts to Satan. For to insist upon them, to strive with them, or to struggle to overcome them is a provoking and strengthning them, to a mans perdition without remedie.* Of men distracted and fooles this was his judgement. "I think that all fooles and such as "have not the use of reason are vexed or led aside "by Satan: not that they are therefore condemned, but because Satan doth diversly tempt men, "some grievously, some easily; some a longer, "some a shorter time. And whereas Physitions at-

Tom. 2. epist. pag. 307.

Tom. 1. epist. pag. 360.

Tom. 2. epist. pag. 281.

"tribute much to naturall cauſes, and mitigate "thoſe evils by naturall meanes ſometimes; this "cometh to paſſe, becauſe they know not, how "great the power and ſtrength of the devils are.

Tom. 1. epiſt. Melanct. pag. 408. to 1. Obenburg.

Concerning the Aſſembly at *Auſpurg*, whoſe remembrance *Melanchthon* delighted not in, becauſe there ſuch as endeavoured the propagation of the Goſpel were cenſured by *Charles* the fifth, harſhly and grievouſly. Whereunto five *Electors*, thirtie Eccleſiaſticall Princes, Secular Princes twentie three, Abbats twentie two, Earles and Barons thirtie three, and thirtie nine free Cities ſubſcribed; Of this aſſembly, I ſay, this was *Luthers* judgement;

Tom. 5. oper. Jen. pag. 280.

"Though after much expenſe ye ſee nothing done "at *Auſpurg*, yet thus I think: though their coſt "had been double, yet the publique confutation of "the ſophiſters and envious perſons would be e-"quivalent thereunto: for they ſought to diſgrace "our doctrin with lies, as if it was the moſt errone-"ous that ever was heard. Of it alſo *Brentius* ſaith.

Conf. Theolog. Melanct. pag. 438.

"The coſt beſtowed in all aſſemblies within the "memory of men are not a ſufficient price for the "excellent treaſure of the Confeſſion and Apo-"logy.

Tom. 2. epiſt. pag. 196. & 250.

Of the Lords Supper thus *Luther* writeth. "I "neither can nor will deny this, that if *Carolaſtu-"dius* or any other man within theſe five yeeres "could have perſwaded me, that there was nothing "in the Sacrament but bread and wine, he ſhould "have done me a ſingular kindneſſe. For I have "laboured much and been moſt ſtudious about

"this

"this points diſcuſſion, I have endeavoured with "all poſſible intention of minde to cleare and fully "open this matter; becauſe I well ſaw that hereby "I could eſpecially wound the Papiſts. Beſides I "had two others, who wrote to me more ſoundly "and acutely of this point, then *Carloſtadius*, nor "did ſo wreſt the words to the conceit of their own "humour. But I ſaw my ſelf faſt taken, and had "no way left to eſcape. For the Text of the Go-"ſpel is ſo cleare and powerfull, that it cannot be "ſhaken, much leſſe be overthrown with words and "gloſſes ſuggeſted by addle heads. Of this queſti-on he wrote a large Epiſtle and indeavoured to prove *That Chriſts fleſh was not only eaten ſpiritually, but corporally.* And whereas elſewhere he ſpeaketh otherwiſe of this matter, there be ſome, who affirm that he opened his minde thereof a little before his death. For tis ſaid, that as he was fitting himſelf for his journey to *Iſleben, Ian.* 23. *An.* 1546. he affir-med to *Melanthon, that he confeſſed, that he had gone too farre in the Sacramentary controverſie.* And when *Melanthon* perſwaded him to explicate his minde by publiſhing ſome book: he anſwered; *that by this courſe he ſhould derive a ſuſpition on all his doctrin as faultie: but* Melanthon *might do as he ſaw cauſe, when he was dead.* The witneſſes of this his ſpeech are *Melanthon*, *Herbert de Langen*, *Daniel Burenius* Conf. of Breme and others.

Tom. 2. epiſt. pag. 196.

Melliſic. Hiſtor. part. 3. *pag.* 450.

When *Antonius Muſa* the Paſtor of *Rochle* on a time complained; *that he himſelf could not beleeve, what he taught others.* Luther anſwered, *I thank God*

that I heare others to be affected to the Papists doctrin, as I was. He was wont to say, *that a preacher should beware of bringing three dogs into the pulpit with him, pride, covetousnesse, envie.* This rule he gave concerning government of ones selfe in preaching: When, saith he, You see the people heare most diligently, conclude that they will go away more cheerefully.

He judged them in Princes Courts to undergoe the greatest labours, *who are compelled to drink so extreamely, that they cannot rest night or day.* When a Stone was brought unto him out of the *Mansfeild* Stone-pits: wherein was the image of the Pope with a triple Crown. *Lo,* said he, *the Pope must be revealed and extold by Metal Mines, and diggers of Metals.*

Three things, said he, make a Divine. *Meditation, prayer, tentation.* And that three things were to be done by a Minister. 1. *He must read the Bible over and over.* 2. *Pray earnestly.* 3. *Alwayes be a learner.* And that they were the best preachers to the people, *who spake as to Babes in Christ, in the ordinary strain, popularly and most plainly.* When he visited the Churches in *Saxony,* and a countrey man repeated the words of the Creed in the vulgar tongue, saying, *I beleeve in God the Father Almightie.* He asked the countrey man, what was meant by *Almightie?* who answered, *I know not. Luther* said, *neither do I nor any learned man know it. Onely beleeve thou that God is thy father, and that he can and will preserve thee and thine.*

He tooke delight to expresse some things in his

own

owne tongue, and in Ryme. Of which ſome were to this ſenſe and meaning.

Eate what is ſodden well;
Drinke what is pure and cleare;
That thou the truth doth tell,
To all let it appeare.

Speake not to all, what ever thou doeſt know:
If thou be well, keepe wiſely were thou art:
Conſerve with care, what ever is thine owne,
Miſchance ſure-footed comes like th' nimble Hart.
Be ſilent in due time, abſtaine, ſuſtaine,
Hold up thy head. Of need to none complaine.
Deſpaire not of Gods helpe, thy ſtate to ſtay:
Who ſends aſſiſtance to us every day.

Luthers private life.

He was in his private converſe of ſuch behaviour that his life was a patterne of vertue. As he dined or ſupped, oftentimes he would dictate matter to be preached; ſometimes correct the faults of the preſſe, ſometimes he would recreate himſelfe and others with Muſick. He was by nature (which *Melanchthon* would often wonder at) a moderate eater and drinker: and yet had no ſmall or weake body: He hath beene ſeene for foure dayes together and being in health, to eate and drinke nothing at ſet meale times: and often at other times for many dayes to be content with a little bread and fiſh. I will ſay nothing how in the Cloyſters he macerated

His temperance.

himselfe with watchings, fasting, labours. Oftentimes being invited to banquets, he went not, because he would not lose his time, I, sayd he, *lose too much time by invitations to feasts here in the City. I know Satan hath such an hand in it: that I may not deny it, and yet it doth me harme to accept the courtesy.* In company he was familiar, pleasant, courteous, yet grave, as beseemed a man of his place. He was affable, and studious of truth.

Tom. 1. ep. p. 265.

His zeale in prayer.

Melanchthon affirmeth, that he often found him at prayer with great ardency and teares imploring God for the whole Church. He set apart every day a certain time for reading some Psalmes, and intermixt his owne *prayers and teares* with them. He often used to say, that he was offended with them, who either through idlenesse or variety of imployment sayd, that it was enough to pray with prayers onely. And for that end, said he, formes of prayer are prescribed us by the will of God, that reading might inflame our minds, yea that the voice also might professe, what God we call upon.

His recreations.

When he recreated his mind, and tooke it off from study, he delighted to play at *Chesse*, and was skilfull at it. He sometimes practised the art of Turning with his servant *Wolfgang*: and would say: *if the world should deny us sustenance for my paines in Gods word, we would learne to get our livings with our hands.* Sometimes he did play on an *instrument*, sometimes *shoote*. He was carefull also of the neatnesse of *his garden*, and desired of his friends varietie of plants to furnish it. So that he had no

Tom. 2. ep. p. 293. and 334.

vacant

vacant time. *Of his imployments thus he writeth. I am very full of imployment: the* Pſalter *requireth a whole man: preaching to the people might well require all my paines: my courſe of worſhipping God and prayer might wholly buſie me: my paines in expounding Scripture by writing, my writing Epiſtles, my care of other mens affaires taketh up my time; my converſe with my friends (which I uſe to call a feeding of my corps) doth very badly ſteale away a great part of my time.* It was his uſuall courſe either to meditate, or to read, or preach, or to give good counſel to his friends: ſo that he was never idle. Tom 2. ep. p. 365.

He was very liberall to the poore. On a time when a ſtudent asked ſome money of him, he bad his wife give him ſome thing: and when ſhe excuſed the matter in regard of their penurie at that time: he tooke up a ſilver cup and gave it to the Scholler, and bid him ſell it to the Gold-ſmith, and keep the money for his occaſions. When a friend ſent him 200. angels of gold from the metal-mines, he beſtowed them all on poore ſtudents: When *Iohn* the *Electour* gave him a new gowne: he ſaid, *that he was made to much of: for if here we receive a full recompence of our labours, we ſhall hope for none in another life.* When the ſame *Electour* offered him a vayne of Metals at *Sneberg*: he refuſed it, leſt he ſhould incurre the tentation of the Devill, who is Lord of treaſure under the Earth. He tooke nothing of Printers for his copies, as he writeth, ſaying. *I have no plenty of money: and thus yet I deale with the Printers: I receive nothing from them for recompence of my* *Luthers* liberality. *Mathef.* in his ſerm. p. 144. Tom. 2. ep. pag. 342.

many

How he dealt with Printers.

many copies, ſometimes onely I receive of them one copie. This I think is due to me, whereas other writers, yea tranſlaters, for every eight leaves have an Angel. Concerning money given him, thus he writeth. *The hundreth Angels given me I received by* Tanbenhem: *and* Schart *gave me fifty: that I ſtand in feare, that God will give me my reward here. But I proteſted that I would not ſo be ſatisfied by him, I will either preſently repay it, or ſpend it. For what ſhould I doe with ſo much money? I gave one halfe of it to* P. Prior, *and made him a joyfull man.*

His loving affection to his children.

He was very lovingly affectioned towards his children, and gave them liberall education: He kept in his houſe a Schoole-maſter to traine them up in good arts and a godly life. When he ſaw *Magdalen* his eldeſt daughter ready to die, he read to her that in *Eſay* 26. 19. *Thy dead ſervants ſhall riſe againe, together with my dead body ſhall they ariſe. Awake and ſing ye that dwell in the duſt: For thy dew is as the dew of hearbs, and the earth ſhall caſt out the dead. Come my people, enter into thy chambers, and ſhut thy doores about thee: Hide thy ſelfe as it were for a little moment, untill the indignation be over-paſt.* My daughter *enter thou into thy chamber with peace: I ſhall ere long be with thee. For God will not permit me to ſee the puniſhments hanging over the head of* Germany. And upon this wept plentifully. But in publique when he went along with the Herſe he bridled his affection, and was not ſeene to ſhed one teare. And as all men of excellent ſpirits have a zealous anger in due place. So *Luther* by nature was vehement, but

His anger & zeale.

yet

yet placable: As appeareth in this, that when *Melanc̄thon* much moved to passion once came unto him, and all the rest were very mute, *Luther* uttered this verse.

Vince animos iramq; tuam, qui cætera vincis.
Thine owne heart overcome, thy fury tame,
Who all things els hast stoutly overcame.

And then smiling said, *we will not further dispute of this matter*, and turned his speech to other occasions.

He foresaw and foretold many things, as the combustion which rose in *Germany*; saying, *I am very much afraid, that if the Princes give eare to Duke* George *his ill counsell, there will arise some tumult, which will destroy all the Princes and Magistrates in all Germany, and ingage in it all the Clergy.* Of the death of *Frederik* Elector of *Saxony*, thus he writeth: *If God in heaven hath resolved in wrath to deale with us, that neither our prayers, nor counsels of amendment can hinder it, let us obtain this that our* Josias *may sleep in peace, though the world be left to go into its Babylon.* *Tom. 2. epist. p. 10. & p. 207.* *Tom. 2. epist. pag. 10.*

Of the covetousnesse of *Germany* and the dearth there, thus he speaketh. "We feare famine, and "we shall suffer it, and finde no remedie for it. And "when as without necessitie, we are solicitous to "prevent famine, like wicked and incredulous "Gentiles, and neglect the word of God and his "work; he will permit shortly a dismall day to "come upon us, which will bring with it whole "Wain-loads of cares, which we shall neither have *Tom. 2. epist. pag. 207.*

power or meanes to escape. Divers other things he also foretold.

Of Luthers Health.

He had his health competently well, but that sometimes he was troubled with headach, especially in his elder yeeres. Whereupon he was afraid of some violent Apoplexie: and when he felt a swimming in his head, or noyse in his eares, he used to say: *Lord Iesu, smite me gently, so I am absolved from my sins according to thy word, and am fed unto life eternall by thy body and bloud. Thine Apostle* John *and our Elector were taken out of this world, by this kinde of death.* He endured often tentations, whereupon he said: *All here are in health except* Luther, *who is sound in body, and without suffers as no mans hand in the world: onely the Devil and all his Angels vex him.*

Of Luthers person.

He was of an indifferent stature, of strong body, of so Lionlike a quicknesse of his eyes, that some could not endure to look directly upon him, when he intentively beheld them. They say that one of mild spirit, who could not endure in private to talk with *Luther*, was courteously used by *Luther*, yet was so pierced with the quicknesse of his eyes, that being amazed he knew no course better then to run from him. His voyce was mild and not very cleare, whereupon, when on a time there was mention at table about *Pauls* voyce, which was not very perfect and full: *Luther* said, *I also have a lowe speech and pronuntiation.* To whom *Melanthon* answered: *But this small voyce is heard very farre and neere.*

Of his wife and children after his death.

In wedlock he lived chastly and godly above twentie yeers, and when he died, left three sonnes and

and *Catharin de Bora* a widow, who lived after his death ſeven yeeres. To her it was a great grief that her husband died in a place farre from her, ſo that ſhe could not be with him, and performe the laſt conjugall offices to him in his ſickneſſe. In the time of the warre which preſently followed, ſhe wandred up and down with her orphans, and in baniſhment was expoſed to many difficulties and dangers: And beſides the miſeries of widowhood, which are full many, the ingratitude of many did much afflict her: for where ſhe hoped for kindneſſe in regard of her husbands worthy and noble deſerts of Gods Church, often ſhe was put of with great indignitie. When afterward her houſe at *Wittenberg* in time of peſtilence was infected, ſhe for her childrens ſafetie, as became a godly mother, betooke her ſelf to *Torg*, where was alſo an Univerſitie. But in the way, when the horſes affrighted ran out and ſeemed to indanger the waggon, ſhe amazed not ſo much for her own, as her childrens preſervation, lept out of the waggon, whereby poore wretch ſhe grievouſly bruiſed her body in the fall, and being caſt into a poole of cold water, caught thereby a diſeaſe, of wch ſhe lay ſick three monethes in baniſhment, and pining away at length died quietly in the yeere, 1552.

Luthers writings were publiſhed at *Wittenberg* and *Ione* in ſeverall Towns both in Latine and the German tongue. Part of them were expoſitions of Scriptures, part doctrinall, part polemicall. Of theſe this was his own judgement. *Above all I beſeech the godly Reader, and I beſeech him for our Lord Jeſus* *Luthers writings.*

His judgement of them in the *Preface* of *Tom.* 1. *Lat.* Work printed at *Wittenberg.*

Christs ſake, that he would read my writings judiciouſly, and with much pitying my caſe. And let him know, that I was formerly a Monk and a moſt furious Papiſt, when I firſt entred into the cauſe undertaken by me: yea, I was ſo drunk & drowned in the opinions of Papiſme, that I was moſt ready to kill all men, if I could, or to aſſiſt and conſent to their attempts that did kill them, who even in one ſyllable ſhould diſſent from the Pope. Such a Saul *was I, as ſome that be yet alive. I was not ſo cold and calme in defending Popery as was* Eckius *and his mates, who more truly for their bellies ſake ſeemed to defend Popery, then that they were ſerious in the cauſe: yea they ſeeme ſtill to me to laugh at the Pope in ſecret, as Epicureans. But I proceeded in the Popes defence earneſtly, becauſe I ſet before mine eyes the laſt day of judgement, and trembled thereat: and deſired from my very heart to attain ſalvation.* In another of his writings, he in a manner wiſheth his books extinct, ſaying. *Alas, my friends ſhould not trouble me: I have enough to do with the Papiſts, and might almoſt ſay with* Job *and* Jeremy, *would I had not been born, yea almoſt ſay, I would I had not publiſhed ſo many books: and would not care, if they were all periſhed. Let other ſuch ſpirited mens writings be ſold in every ſhop, as they deſire.*

Tom. 7. *Jen. Germ. p.* 288.

The Antimonians.

Luther alſo was much againſt it, that any man ſhould be called a Lutheran after his name. *Becauſe the doctrin was not his, neither did he die for any one; and becauſe Saint* Paul *would not endure to have it done by his own perſon,* 1 Cor. 3. Againſt this humour of men alſo. *Luther* ſaid. *How ſhould it come to paſſe, that I a ſack of wormes meat ſhould be acceſſary to this,*

Tom. 2. *Jen. Germ. p.* 69.

that

that the children of Christ should be called after my base and unworthy name. He also much opposed the title of Lutherans, because we be all Christians, and professe the doctrin of Christ: as also because the Papists are guiltie of this crime, by calling themselves Pontificians. We ought not to imitate them in evill. Of *Luthers* books thus writeth *Sturmius. I remember that in an epistle of* Luthers *to* Wolfgangus Capito, *which is in* Conradus Huberts *Library some yeeres ago I read, That he himself took content in none of his books, but onely in his Catechisme and his book against Free Will.*

In his b. of *Rhetoric. Exir.*

For a conclusion I will here adde *Melanchthons* judgement concerning the Talents by God bestowed on *Luther* and others. *Pomeranus*, saith he, *is a* Gramarian, *and explains the force of words, I intend* Logick *and shew the context of the matter, and the Arguments,* Justus Jonas *is an orator, and copiously and eleganly discourseth: But* Luther *is all these, a very miracle among men. What ever he saith, what ever he writeth it, peirceth mens minds and leaves behind it a wonderfull sting in their hearts.* And *Camerarius* speaketh thus of *Luther. The name of* Luther *is so odious to some, that they detest the hearing it: on the contrary other endure not that any thing should be found fault with, which either he speak or did: & if any man dare speake against him, they declaime against him presently, as one guilty of impiety. They who thus extoll the name and authority of* Martin Luther, *as not doubting to elevate him above the condition and measure of Mortall men, should see to it, that they doe not wrong the good name of so excellent and admirable a man by attribut-*

Melanchth. in *Mathes.* serm.

Camerarius in *Melanchth.* life pag. 251.

ing too much to him: and that they doe not seeme to shelter and protect their audaciousnesse, under his excellency. And those calumniators, who not onely condemne all his writings as ungodly and turbulent, now also, if they had any wit, might remember and consider, what is gotten by bitter envie, contumacy, froward opposition and outragious clamours.

Wolf. Severus of Luther.

Wolfgang Severus Tutour of *Ferdinando* of *Austria*, afterward Emperour, wrote a distich encomiastick upon *Luther* to this purpose.

Of *Iaphets* race hath *Luthers* like n'ere been,
And his superiour, sure, will n'ere be seen.

His Impresse was a *Rose* and a *Crosse*, the explication whereof is this.

A *Rose* and *Crosse* great *Luthers* heart disclose.
The *Rose*, his *Ioy*, the *Crosse*, *Christs yoak*, he chose.

Thus have we described *Luthers* Life and Death out of his owne and other learned mens writings: in perusing whereof, the Reader is to be intreated (which thing *Luther* himselfe requested concerning his whole workes) to judge well what he readeth, and to consider well, whence *Luther* came, and at what time he wrote, namely, out of the darke mistes of Popery, and when the raies of the Gospel began again to shew themselves.

FINIS.

UNIV. EDINBURGEN

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